

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

CONSCRIPTION IN A NUTSHELL: TURNING MEN INTO ROBOTS!

LAST Saturday over 218,000 lads took the first step to being converted into automata: men into machines. They registered under the Military Training Act in the way the Government desired.

For four years they will be under the control of the Army Authorities. For six months they will be intensively trained.

Nearly 4,000 of their fellows stood firm for individual liberty of conscience; they registered as conscientious objectors.

It has been estimated that there still remain some 30,000 who have not registered at all. Who are they? Some are sailing the seas; some are ill; some have been careless. Many have refused to recognize the Act altogether. How many there are in this last category will only be shown by future events, by prosecutions.

What is certain is that the pacifist opposition to the Act by lads of conscript age is not confined to those who registered as conscientious objectors.

Number of men registered ... 224,172
Number of men registered as conscientious objectors ... 3,893

THESE are the latest available figures (as we go to press) of the registrations under the Military Training Act.

200,000 men, most of whom, it is safe to say, have never given any serious thought to the problem of peace, have now enlisted in the Army.

For four years they will be under military control. For six months they will be subjected to intensive training, directed to making them "good soldiers."

They will be taught how and when and whom to salute; how to drill; how to murder their foreign fellowmen.

For six months they will have to the bugle, parade to the bugle, eat to the bugle, retire to the bugle.

In six months they will have substantially lost their individualism; they will have become accustomed to obeying orders as units in a company, spontaneously, unresistingly, almost involuntarily.

Machines made out of men!

How Many Did Not Register?

SPECULATION is widespread as to the number of objectors who have refused to register (so far, 30,000 men in all have not registered).

An indication of what might be expected comes from Wales. The organizer of the Welsh Nationalist Party has calculated that 500 Welshmen refused to register. They included Nationalists, pacifists and members of the Independent Labour Party.

In Caernarvonshire a thousand men were due to register. A *Liverpool Post* estimate is that of these 10 percent refused to

register, but the Nationalists Party organizer puts the figure at double this amount.

In Sheffield an ad hoc committee interviewed 30 intending objectors. Only 20 registered.

Intensive P.P.U. Activity

INTENSIVE activity by the Peace Pledge Union marked the beginning of registration under the Military Training Act last Saturday.

National and leading provincial newspapers carried prominent reports of demonstrations, meetings and leaflet distributions. There were some instances where pacifists incurred the displeasure of Labour Exchange officials and the police.

A leaflet distributed at Hastings was alleged by the police to be actionable. Mr. Kenneth Wray, Hastings PPU Group Leader, voluntarily gave his name to the police so that they could prosecute if they desired.

Over 95,000 copies of a special leaflet, entitled "Think Again!" were issued at exchanges throughout the country. *Peace News* and the *Peace Service Handbook* were generally on sale.

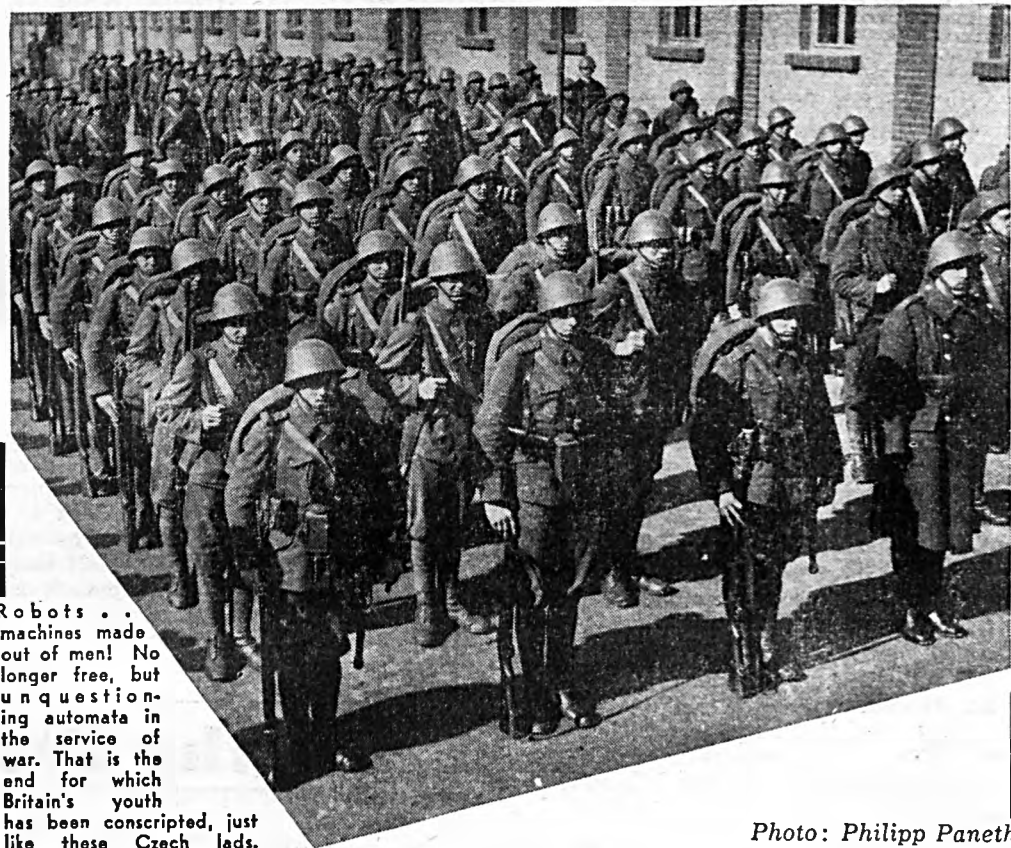
PPU members at Birmingham and West Bromwich had their names taken for obstruction.

Two sellers of *Peace News* at Nottingham were asked to move on by the police. They obeyed, taking up their stance again several hundred yards away.

In an interview with the *Nottingham Evening Post* one of the sellers said:

"When the police officer asked me to move I did so readily. He had his duty to do and I had no desire to obstruct or to cause any trouble."

Continued on back page



Robots... machines made out of men! No longer free, but unquestioning automata in the service of war. That is the end for which Britain's youth has been conscripted, just like these Czech lads.

Photo: Philipp Paneth

The "Thetis" Tragedy

A PACIFIST VIEW

THE loss of the submarine *Thetis* has shocked the nation as has no calamity of the kind since the destruction of the airship *R101* nearly nine years ago.

Public reactions have been those of sympathy for the relatives of the lost and calls for a full and open inquiry into the circumstances of the disaster and the attempts at rescue.

Pacifists will join in the general and heartfelt grief at the loss of so many valuable lives, and in the expressions of of solace to the bereaved. But does not this tragedy have a moral for the pacifist, a moral he will strive to bring home to the mass of the people to whom it is not evident?

It was to this moral that the Rev. C. Pickford, minister of Westerham Congregational Church and a prominent pacifist, addressed himself in his sermon last Sunday.

Mr. Pickford said that it was wonderful to contemplate the unlimited eagerness to help the trapped men, and to do everything possible to bring assistance and to save.

Ex-Soldier, Turned Pacifist, To Be Court-Martialled

A WAITING court-maria is an ex-service-man who became a pacifist before he left the Army recently, and who has refused to obey an order to report for further military training.

He is Mr. H. Daventry, of 112 St. John's Road, Highgate, N.6.

Mr. Daventry is determined to hold to his convictions despite what sentence the court-martial imposes and what subsequent steps the Army authorities may take.

He would be glad of encouragement and advice from fellow pacifists.

But there was also a feeling of anger that such things as submarines should exist, made as they were in order that man, unseen from the dark depths of the ocean, might launch sudden and devastating destruction at some unsuspecting craft carrying hundreds of his fellows aboard.

With such a tragedy as that of the *Thetis* they could contemplate at one and the same time heights of nobility and the depths of depravity of which human nature was capable.

They saw humanity at its best, overflowing with love and sympathy and eagerness to help and save, and at its worst, in the form of a craft fashioned with incredible ingenuity and skill for one single purpose—the silent, stealthy, cowardly launching of the torpedo, an unseen and terrible instrument of destruction and death.

There was no escaping the challenge of this tragedy when it said: "To what purpose are all these fine and noble impulses and thoughts of saving, when you actually tolerate war and its preparation?"

The ship in which the men were trapped represented an incredible amount of time, energy and ingenuity devoted to the ends of destruction. Yet in the hour of those men's bitter need of salvation, human ingenuity to save was utterly inadequate to the situation, and the despairing cry of the waiting mothers, "Where are the experts now?" could receive no adequate answer.

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CONSCRIPTION:
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Conscription Act in its Final Form

FULL DETAILS OF HOW THE OBJECTOR IS AFFECTED

WE give below another of our series of factual articles in which the position of the conscientious objector under the law has been examined week by week.

This week we give excerpts from the official text of the Military Training Act, 1939.

The Act concerns

"every male British subject ordinarily resident in Great Britain . . . between the ages of twenty years and twenty-one years."

Registration

is the first stage, and began last Saturday at Labour Exchanges throughout the country. There is a special register for conscientious objectors, and a man may apply to be entered on that register "on the ground that he conscientiously objects

"(a) to being registered in the military training register, or

"(b) to undergoing military training, or

"(c) to performing combatant duties."

Penalty for failing to register

"Any person who fails [to register] shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding five pounds;

"Provided that no prosecution in respect of any such failure shall be instituted without the consent of the Minister."

The Tribunal

"A person who has been provisionally registered in the register of conscientious objectors shall, within the prescribed period and in the prescribed manner, make to a local tribunal . . . an application stating to which of the matters mentioned in paragraphs (a) to (c) [above] . . . he conscientiously objects, and, if he fails to do so, the Minister shall transfer his name to the military training register."

The Appellate Tribunal

"An applicant for registration as a conscientious objector who is aggrieved by any order of a local tribunal, and the Minister, if he considers it necessary, may, within the prescribed time and in the prescribed manner, appeal to the appellate tribunal . . . and the decision of the appellate shall be final."

Four Possible Verdicts

"A local tribunal, if satisfied, upon an application duly made to it . . . or the appellate tribunal, if satisfied on appeal, that the ground on which the application was made is established, shall by order direct either

"(a) that the applicant shall, without conditions, be finally registered in the register of conscientious objectors; or

"(b) that he shall be conditionally registered in that register for the period of one year beginning with the date on which he is so registered, the condition being that he must during that period comply with the requirements of the subsection next following [see 'Work of National Importance', below] and shall then, without conditions, be finally registered in that register; or

"(c) that he shall be registered in the military training register as a person liable to be employed only in non-combatant duties;

"but if not so satisfied, shall by order direct that he shall be registered without qualification in the military training register."

Work of National Importance

An applicant given conditional exemption under sub-section (b) [above] shall, when directed by the Minister, undergo a continuous period of six months' training provided or approved by the Minister, being training of a civil character and under civil control for work of national importance, and the Minister shall pay to persons undergoing such training allowances . . . corresponding as nearly as may be to the scale of pay and allowances applicable to militiamen while undergoing the special course of training which they are liable to undergo by virtue of the provisions of this Act;

"Provided that, if the tribunal . . . is of the opinion that it would be detrimental to the national interest that he should undergo such training as aforesaid instead of performing some class of work specified by the tribunal (being work of a civil character

and under civilian control), the order of the tribunal may direct that he shall be exempt from liability to undergo such training, and a person so exempted shall be deemed to comply with the requirements of this subsection so long as he engages in, and performs, that class of work."

The Regulations

"... shall make provision for the appellate tribunal to sit in two divisions, of which one shall sit for Scotland, and shall empower the tribunals to take evidence on oath, and shall make provision as to the representation of parties to the proceedings before the tribunals, which shall include the right to appear either in person or by counsel or a solicitor or by a representative of any trade union to which they belong or by any person who satisfies such a tribunal

that he is a relative or personal friend of the party he proposes to represent."

Expenses to be Paid

"The Minister may pay . . . to applicants appearing before such tribunals and to any witnesses whose attendance is certified by any such tribunal to have been necessary, travelling and subsistence allowances in accordance with such scale as the Minister may, with the consent of the Treasury, approve."

Medical Examination

If an applicant for exemption is rejected by the tribunal and transferred to the military training register he will in due course receive a summons to present himself for medical examination.

If the objector fails to comply "he shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding five pounds, and the court by which he is found guilty may make such orders (including orders for his arrest and detention) as may be necessary to secure compliance with the requirements or otherwise to secure his attendance before a medical board or consultant examiner, as the case may be."

"Called to the Colours"

A written notice will be served on each man regarded as liable for military training, "requiring him to present himself at such place and time (not earlier than the fourteenth day after the date of the service of the notice), and to such authority, as may be specified in the notice."

Every one on whom such a notice is served "shall be deemed

"(a) to have been, on the day on which he is required by the notice to present himself, duly enlisted as a militiaman under section thirty of the Territorial and Reserve Forces Act, 1907, for a period of four years, and

"(b) to have been, immediately after being so enlisted, called out . . . for a continuous period of six months, for a special course of training at such places as the Army Council may determine."

Refusal to obey the calling-up order will, of course, place the objector in the position of being a deserter.

Refusal to Obey Orders

There is a clause in the Act dealing with the case of a militiaman who refuses to obey an order on conscientious grounds and who is accordingly sentenced to three months' imprisonment or some greater punishment.

Such a man may apply to the appellate tribunal to have his case considered

"and that tribunal shall, whether or not it finds that the offence for which he was sentenced was committed by reason of such a conscientious objection as aforesaid, have power to recommend to the Secretary of State that he be discharged from the army reserve as soon as may be after serving the sentence imposed on him, but if the tribunal finds that the said offence was not committed by reason of such a conscientious objection, it may order him to undergo immediately after his discharge from the army reserve the like training and subject to the like conditions as if he had been a person ordered to comply with the requirements of subsection (8) of section three of this Act [the subsection dealing with training and work of national importance], so however that the period for which he is required to undergo such training shall be specified in the order and shall not exceed six months from the date of his discharge from the army reserve . . .

"If any person ordered under this section to undergo such training as aforesaid fails to comply with the order, or while undergoing such training is discharged therefrom for serious and wilful misconduct, he shall be guilty of an offence and be liable on summary conviction thereof to be imprisoned for a term not exceeding two years."

The full text of the Military Training Act, 1939, may be obtained through any newsagent, price 6d.

The Joint Advisory Bureau has issued a valuable digest of the Act, entitled "A Description of the Military Training Act." It is available, price one penny, from the Bureau at 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

From the Editor's Notebook

The "Saved" and the "Free" Treatment of Objectors Watch the Tribunals!

SOME 220,000 young men who might have been among the most valuable recruits to the movement for bringing peace to this country and the world by the renunciation of the methods that have failed and the substitution of methods of co-operation and generosity have been "saved" from its "clutches" by the Government.

At any rate, they have been "saved" for 4½ years—unless, like the ex-Service man whose brave stand we report in this issue, they manage to get hold of other ideas than the military ones on which they are to be nourished in that period and allow those ideas to do their work.

Otherwise, only the repeal of the Act, for which those of us who are still free must continue to work, can save not only them but, in due course, probably men of other ages from being permanently imbued with the ideas which pacifists believe are definitely dangerous to their country.

But the 4,000 registered conscientious objectors are not necessarily free either, except perhaps to spread their faith by suffering for it in one way or another.

Some are already doing so. They have lost their jobs for the sole "crime" of having registered as CO's. That is the worst kind of penalty, and it is not one inflicted by the law.

As for the penalties that arise from the provisions of the Military Training Act, the harshness of them depends almost entirely upon the way in which those provisions are interpreted and administered by the tribunals. These are not even set up yet, but it is already laid down that they shall have wide powers of procedure, particularly in their method of examining applicants.

Wartime Experience

ALTHOUGH the fact that we are not now at war (even if we are not at peace!) and that the tribunal chairman must be judges should make a vast difference from CO's war-time experiences it must also be remembered that the 1916 Military Service Acts did meet the case of the conscientious objectors fairly. It was the tribunals that didn't.

The Local Government Board actually said in its official circulars issued for the guidance of tribunals:

The functions of the local tribunals will be of a judicial nature; persons will therefore be appointed who will consider the cases impartially . . .

The local authority, in making their appointments to the tribunals, should bear in mind that the tribunal will have to hear, among the applications, those made on the ground of conscientious objections. Men who apply on this ground should be able to feel that they are being judged by a tribunal that will deal fairly with their cases . . .

The tribunals must interpret the Act in an impartial and tolerant spirit. Difference of opinion must not bias judgment.

We can only wait until the new tribunals start work to know whether the new Act really will allow individual citizens any freedom to decide what is their duty to their country or not.

It is hoped that the local advisory bureaux that are being set up will make it their job to watch the working of the tribunals and to report (to the Central Advisory Bureau and also to *Peace News*) on how the Act is being administered.

A Blind Soldier Speaks

A BLINDED ex-soldier writes from Southampton "to try to give the COs greater courage." "The filth and stench and horror and brutality of war," he writes, "must place those who participate in it outside the pale."

Writing from the Christian point of view, he is anxious that conscientious objectors should make sure of their inner selves first.

He describes war as "the greatest curse of the human race and the greatest crime because it involves every other crime within its execrable name." He points out how the structure of military glory "so vast, so brilliant, so attractive that masses of mankind have been content to gaze in admiration without any inquiry into its basis" has been raised on a foundation of falsehoods.

Finally, he urges those who are tempted by this structure "to pause ere they enter, retreat, and help us to create peace."

Labour and Peace

THE warm welcome given to MR. ERNEST BEVIN's excellent speech at the Labour Party Conference the other day, and the determination to drive his case home (as indicated by the publishing of his speech) raises new hopes.

Pacifists are feeling that they may, after all, get the influential backing of the Labour movement for their immediate policy.

But this hopeful sign should also remind pacifists of the serious mistake they often

make in underestimating the possibilities of winning over the "near-pacifists." Describing the reception given to BEVIN at the party conference, one Labour MP told me it was as if the delegates had "seen the light for the first time."

Failure at Ealing

An example of how chances are missed comes from Ealing. The group organizer of the Peace Pledge Union there sends reports from his local papers of a debate his group organized with the local Labour Party.

It is generally agreed that Mr. N. F. T. SAUNDERS, who moved "that the Labour Party's policy of collective security is unsound," had the debate all his own way against the prospective Labour candidate for the division. But this was not shown in the voting, which showed a narrow defeat for the pacifist.

There were two main reasons. One was that quite a few even of the staunch Labour members of the audience did not vote either way. That is, they were won half over at any rate.

The other was that members of the PPU group did not turn up as they might, and as they had been asked to. Had they done so, they would have upheld the motion and given the Labour candidate much more to think about.

Disaffection

LAST week I quoted in these notes a Japanese view of the China War. Following is what a woman in Shanghai wrote to another of our readers in London: "On my way back last Saturday I had an armful of flowers which grow in wild profusion in our compound. At one place the sentry prolonged the examination of my pass so that he could feel the soft velvety petals. . .

"He called their names, so I gave him a few. At that, I was surrounded by Japanese soldiers, no longer invaders but lovers of flowers and beauty."

"In Nanking some missionaries gave them some Testaments. They went, after reading them, to their officers to inform them that according to this new book they had taken the wrong methods to get co-operation with the Chinese."

"Whereupon the officers called upon the missionaries and told them there must be no more giving of Testaments to the soldiers. They had been brought over to China to kill and they didn't want them reading books of that sort." U.S.M.

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CONSCRIPTION THREAT IN NEW ZEALAND

Pressure on Premier to Revive Compulsory Training Act

THE adoption of conscription in this country has given impetus to a campaign for the revival of compulsory military service in New Zealand. Pressure is believed to have been brought to bear on the New Zealand Premier from outside the Dominion.

A Defence Act providing for compulsory training remains on the Statute Book, though its operation was suspended in 1930. Ostensibly its suspension was for financial reasons, but it was admitted in one of the yearly Reports on Defence that the Act had been a failure, partly because of laxity on the part of lads and parents, and partly because of want of interest on the part of the public.

The number of young men prosecuted under the Act from 1909, when it was introduced, until its suspension in 1930, was more than 40,000.

This gives the lie to accounts of the training system by General Sir Alexander Godley and Colonel J. L. Sleeman which appeared recently in the British press.

General Godley, who introduced the system, tried to picture it as popular, "except for a very few conscientious objectors and ultra-pacifists." Colonel Sleeman, who was for five years Director of Military Training to the New Zealand forces obtained under the same system, wrote:

"That Labour liked it is proved by the fact that never once, in my five years of experience, had I to defend this system against Labour attacks."

LABOUR MEN FOUGHT IT

The facts are (reports our Wellington Correspondent) that a number of Labour men always fought this "popular" system. Some of them went to goal for opposing it during the War.

The 40,000 prosecutions under the Act were for:

- Refusal to register (a recurring offence);
- Refusal to drill;
- Refusal to attend parades;
- Failure to report change of address;
- Damage to military equipment; and
- Refusal to pay fines.

The punishment meted out to the offenders varied from a fine to imprisonment, detention in military barracks, or loss of civil rights for a period up to ten years.

The New Zealand Peace Council used to help young men who came into conflict with the authorities under the Act.

NEW CAMPAIGN

Not deterred by this record of resistance to the Act, the New Zealand Defence League is now agitating for a revival of compulsory military training and for a land force of 30,000 men.

The Minister of Defence has given an assurance that the Government will not introduce compulsory military service. The Prime Minister, however, has given an indication that not 30,000, but 50,000 men may be required for New Zealand's defence forces. Regarding conscription, he declared that if it came it would not begin with flesh and blood.

PRESSURE ON PREMIER?

The Premier's statement was made after a conference of New Zealand, Australian, and British defence authorities in Wellington, and it is thought that pressure had been brought to bear on him.

Our Wellington correspondent considers that 50,000 men could not be recruited under the voluntary system, as it has taken the greatest effort by the authorities to bring the forces up to their normal strength of 9,500 men.

PACIFISTS' CHALLENGE

New Zealand pacifists are active in meeting the threat of increased militarization.

Members of the New Zealand Peace Pledge Union recently attended a public meeting held by the Defence League in Wellington Town Hall, and were able to put questions.

A scene ensued when one of the PPU members asked the chairman if he would accept a resolution calling on the Government "to bring about complete disarmament and utilize the military expenditure for constructive social purposes."

Earlier the President of the Defence League refused an offer to debate in public with the PPU.

America's First "Tax C.O."

CONSCIENTIOUS refusal to pay taxes devoted to preparations for war, instances of which have been reported in *Peace News* from time to time, is not confined to Britain.

An American correspondent reports that in the United States the pioneer conscientious tax resister is James S. Clark, a former clergyman, now a photographer of Brattleboro, Vermont.

In 1936, Mr. Clark resigned a pastorate in Northboro, Massachusetts, as a result of differences with members of his congregation over his disapproval of plans for a war memorial in his church. In Brattleboro, in 1938, he announced his intention to refuse tax payment on his income only to learn of exemption because of income limitations in 1937. On March 24, 1939, in an open letter addressed to the field representative of the Vermont income tax division, Clark made notification of his decision to withhold payment of \$30 (over £6), the total amount levied by the State on his income for 1938.

DISTRAINT ON PROPERTY?

Justifying his stand on the ground that "the whole force programme of the State is wrong," he also made known his belief that, unless stopped by others following his example, the present policies of the Federal Government would lead to a Fascist dictatorship through war. Clark was opposed to the diversion of State tax funds for national armaments.

Although willing to "spend a few years at Windsor prison if necessary to justify my convictions," Clark remains at liberty. According to Tax Commissioner E. M. Harvey of Vermont, the State law provides only for attachment of property as penalty for non-payment.

It is expected that Clark's property will be attached for an amount greatly in excess of the tax as a penalty for evasion.

German Memorial to British Boys

German authorities have informed the London County Council that they will provide and pay for a memorial to the five London schoolboys who died during a blizzard in the Black Forest two years ago.

The LCC had itself intended to spend £50 on the memorial. It has thanked the German authorities through the Foreign Office.

Lansbury Peace Shop

In view of the passage of the Military Training Bill, the East End Pacifist Council opened a "George Lansbury 'No More War' Shop," at 105 Commercial Road, E, on Tuesday. It will be open until Monday. Every night there will be speakers at 8 p.m.

NEWS FROM ABROAD

Czechs Are Still Resisting Nazi Rule

AN order of the Prague police forbidding the wearing of badges with aggressively rationalist slogans shows that the Czechs are continuing the resistance to Hitler's rule which was reported in *Peace News* a fortnight ago.

The new measure is a result of the Czech authorities' policy of trying to damp "the reckless optimism of the people," for fear of serious incidents.

So pronounced is the resistance to the Nazis that the Germans have ceased attempts to establish good will.

CHILDREN LAUGH

Even children are involved. A party of 45 children, returning from an excursion to Zlin, crossed in their train a portion of Germany. As they did so they shouted from the windows of their compartments.

Later, they were made to run the gauntlet between lines of German school children.

Earlier the same party had been surrounded by members of the Gestapo as they left a cinema at Zlin, because they had laughed when a news-reel showing the signing of the German-Italian alliance was interrupted owing to a technical fault.

From three of the children the Gestapo obtained a written statement that they had started the demonstration. One boy, who escaped from his guard, was shot twice in the arm.

Conference on "Africans and Peace"

A conference on "The African Peoples, Democracy, and World Peace" will be held during the weekend July 7 to 9 at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.4.

Full details can be obtained from the conference secretary, Keith Alleyne, Aggrey House, 47 Doughty Street, W.C.1.

W.R.I. AIDS REFUGEES FROM SPAIN

News of the home for Spanish refugees established by the War Resisters' International at Prats-de-Mollo, in the South of France, is contained in a report by Miss Grace Beaton, WRI General Secretary, who visited it recently.

She tells of the important part played by Professor Brocca, who is also in touch with other leading members of the Spanish war resisters' movement, and adds:

"In time—though not just yet—Professor Brocca hopes that at any rate the women and children will be able to return to Spain. The menfolk probably will not—at any rate not for a much longer time. Professor Brocca is working out plans for them in co-operation with us."

"He sees as the ideal conclusion to the remarkable piece of work he has done the return of the women and children to Spain, where they will be perfectly safe and where the women and older children can work."

"The menfolk must try to settle elsewhere (Mexico or South America) with the hope that before many years are passed either they will be able to return to Spain as well, or will have established themselves sufficiently well to have their families join them."

"One Spanish family is already established in Colombia, another family has gone to Cuba, and two others were expected to leave for Mexico toward the middle of May. We are helping them all."

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E. E. V. Collocott "Speaking Personally" on FALSE REASONS FOR WAR

GOOD is that which increases life: evil is that which diminishes it.

In war many lives are destroyed, but the case against war is not thereby settled out of hand, though this furnishes at the outset a strong presumptive case against it.

Life has many manifestations other than the physical. The richness and fulfilling of life include self-sacrifice and heroism, art and music and poetry, every creative thing of the mind. Scientific and technical invention are enlargements and expressions of life, and so are good.

What is the relation of war to all this? There is the obvious relation of the premature destruction of many men who would have been creators in art and science, in thought and industry.

But do the heroism, the concentrated passion and unified will, the perilousness of war, provoke human spirits to their highest efforts in the sciences and arts, as well as to a sacrificial giving of life wherein larger life is found?

The defence of war along these lines has great plausibility. Those who deny its validity are accused of a degenerate and weakening hedonism.

Emotional Patriotism

There clusters about the idea of fighting for one's country a wealth of emotion, begotten of centuries of tradition, that is easily stirred and maintained at high pressure. That large groups of people should be energized by a common emotion is, possibly, in itself good, not only making the group activity effective, but raising the powers of individuals to a high pitch.

Yet a caution is necessary. Nothing is commoner than to find that such unified emotion is bought at the expense of many valuable things of individual personality. The individual's action is energetic, but his powers of judgment may be lowered so that he acts with irrational passion. The energetic united action may be far from being a

fusion of the highest emotional and mental activities of the individuals comprising the group.

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IF a war were preceded by an impartial examination of the claims of the conflicting parties it is not likely that the war would happen.

One of the basic passions which motivates the common action of the one side and the other is fear. Since fear is a base passion that fact alone condemns the apparently ennobling unity of sentiment.

This is not to deny the unity of sentiment at high levels of groups within the total situation created by war. Indeed, nothing finer in human relations can be achieved than many of those which arise within war; but all, base and noble alike, are in the service of a mass exhibition of paltry sentiment, fear, pride and greed.

Ready to Die, But Not to Kill

Defenders of war urge, truly, that there are values in life for which it is worth dying. But can any valuable aspect of life be nurtured by killing human beings, and especially by killing those who are, on the whole, amongst the most valuable members of their race?

No-one can be spiritually sound unless he is prepared to die for ends wider than himself; but that is quite another matter from claiming that he must be ready to kill. It has yet to be shown that any fine human ideals can be preserved by killing other human beings. Jesus said that we save our life by giving it; he did not say that we save our life by killing somebody else.

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AFTER all, there is not much attempt made to disguise the motives for war, or for abstention from war. National "interests" are openly avowed as the springs of action.

This is further illustration of the fact that, even in countries which nominally adhere to a monotheistic religion, the nation is its own divinity, its own final source of right. If political leaders can show that a certain course of action, be it peaceful or bellicose, honourable or false, serves national "interests," no further justification is held to be necessary.

Within the general plea, however, of interest, of national necessity, there can be wide differences of individual motive and behaviour. Some will, through belligerent support of the national interest, serve personal ambitions of one sort or another.

But to enable concerted national action to be undertaken and sustained the mass of the people must be brought in. These, sentimentally, quite simply believe that, if they are defeated in war, things of value of which they, among all men, are especially

Killing to "Preserve Culture"

There is not much attempt made to disguise the motives for war, or for abstention from war. National "interests" are openly avowed as the springs of action. This is a further illustration of the fact that . . . the nation is its own divinity, its own final source of right. . .

Each people is led to conceive of itself as the guardian of a way of life . . . which must be preserved intact on the earth. It believes that its religious and ethical teaching, its art and science must be preserved, if necessary by killing other people. . .

But it has not been shown that any valuable thing has been preserved by killing human beings.

the guardians, will be taken from them and destroyed.

Each Side Misled

Each people is led to conceive of itself as the guardian of a way of life, of a structure, political, economic, and social, which must be preserved intact on the earth. It believes that its religious and ethical teaching, its art and science must be preserved, if necessary by killing other people, who frequently are, in the main, members of the same culture.

Every human society does embody ideas of value; otherwise it could not endure. But it has not been shown that any valuable human thing has been preserved by killing human beings.

It may be argued that the Greek struggle against Persia was a cause of the period of heightened creative activity that has given us the great Athenian civilization. That, however, must remain hypothetical, whilst it is certain that the Peloponnesian and later wars were prime factors in its decay.

★

EVEN if in the ancient world a heightening of national self-consciousness did contribute to a general quickening of the spirit, in the modern world the strengthening of feelings of national separateness is a check upon the unfolding of spiritual powers.

Scientific and technical achievements have made the relations of peoples so close, and have made the possibilities of creation and destruction so great, that the spirit can advance only by recognizing the actual contemporary pattern of life, and not by trying to live by outmoded ways of thought and feeling.

We need have no fear for what is valuable in our culture. It will survive. From the point of view of the preservation of ideas and ideals it is better to open the gates to an invader, and dwell with him, rather than by violence involve all in destruction. The ideal will thus be better served, and will survive in greater vigour.

Learn to Live Together

Moreover, it is reasonable to hope that by welcoming an invader the home civilization would be beneficially affected by fresh streams of thought and tradition, and go on to new heights of outlook and creation.

The task of today is for nations to learn to dwell together, without seeking to impose their ways of life upon one another, but encouraging the intercourse that will bring new vigour to all.

★

THE one defence of war that might plausibly be made in this period of the human story is that the development of the aeroplane has brought old and middle-aged people within reach of enemy projectiles.

Falling birth and death rates are producing populations in which there are too few young men and women. The springs of idealism and hope are in danger of fading at the sources.

If the casualties of modern war were amongst people of, say, forty-five years of age and upwards, eugenists might welcome it.

But even the aeroplane, by bringing the old into the front line, or appreciably nearer it, has not redeemed war, for experience is showing that the children form an especially vulnerable target. This not only makes the moral flavour of modern war unprecedentedly horrible, more horrible even than the sackings of towns of ancient warfare, but accentuates its dysgenic misselection.

One further word should be said about the preservation of political and social structures, which is a principal sentimental defence of war. European peoples allege these obligations amongst themselves, and against one another.

So far from this being a valid ground for indulging in large-scale murder and rapine, nothing would be better than a general post of rulers and parliaments, *et hoc genus omne*, round Europe. All would learn something from the experience. Potentates of one sort and another rant about matters not worth two pins, for whose preservation things of genuine value are destroyed.

Exchange Rulers?

The peoples of Western Europe could have an interchange of rulers and political forms without radical alteration of the fundamental things of life. But changes more profound and far-reaching than those which the sentimentalists say must be prevented by killing our national neighbours, have been wrought among the weak peoples of Africa, Asia, and the Pacific.

In this matter the European peoples cannot cast stones at one another. It is not a question of one people being a better, or worse, colonizer than another. The whole thing of imperialistic grab is evil.

Europe, as though not content that the achievements of its splendid knowledge and skill should be spread over an under-world of poverty and despair, has completed its shame by the stealing of lands, the smashing of political and social structures and the destruction of life in America, Asia, Africa, Australia, and the islands of the seas.

Summer Work Camp at Brynmawr

First-hand experience of the conditions prevailing in the distressed areas and opportunities to study industrial and housing conditions, are available for those who join the Brynmawr Work Camp this summer. The camp has been organized by the Subsistence Production Society and will be held from Monday, July 10, to Saturday, September 16.

Volunteers from this country and abroad (not under 21 years of age) are invited to apply for membership of the camp. They should be physically fit and ready to work for seven hours each day, and four hours on Saturday.

Application for membership should be made as soon as possible to Jim Forrester, S.P.S., Cwmavon, near Pontypool, Monmouthshire, from whom all information can be obtained.

SPECIAL OFFER TO 'PEACE NEWS' READERS

The "New Leader," I.L.P. Organ, which leads the struggle against Conscription and War in the Labour Movement, will be sent to you for 2s. 6d. for six months, post free, if you use this form.

Name.....

Address.....

Post with 2s. 6d. to "New Leader,"
35, St. Bride Street, London, E.C.4.

WITH this article the Rev. E. E. V. Collocott, President of the Australian Peace Pledge Union, concludes his series on "Patriotism and Pacifism." (Last week's article was wrongly entitled "A Higher Form of Puritanism" instead of "A Higher Form of Patriotism.")

The next contributor to our "Speaking Personally" forum will be

Prof. G. E. G. CATLIN.

4%

AND NO BUMBLEPUDDY

—and it's an authentic word in the dictionary! It meant originally "playing whist unscientifically," but now it is used for any inefficient or slipshod work. There's no bumblepudding about the St. Pancras. Interest is paid regularly as clockwork, withdrawals are easily effected when need arises.

The Secretary will forward the Society's "Guide for Investors" on request.

Managing Director: E. W. BALES

ST. PANCRAS BUILDING SOCIETY
ST. PANCRAS HOUSE, PARKWAY, N.W.1



The Law the Conscience Obeys

"THE conscientious objector does what the rebel does not. He appeals to a higher law altogether than the law of the State.

"The Jacobites of 1745 and the supporters of King George II were essentially aiming at objects on the same plane, as one may say, and justified their objects by arguments of the same sort, with a different termination. Neither appealed to a different standard of morals or a different standard of expediency from the other; but it is the very essence of the conscientious objector's position that he says the State has, up to a certain point, undoubted authority over him, but that in this respect he is bound to obey a higher law than the law of the State—a religious law or a moral law which prohibits him from obeying the law of the State.

"I only ask," he says, 'leave to obey it in my own person, and because I feel the burden of it upon me. I am bound, as I conceive, to obey this higher law. I am bound, therefore, not because I am seditious or rebellious, or because I want to impose my opinions upon anyone else in the world, but because every individual is responsible here and hereafter for what he does by his own act and by his own will, whether the State commands him or whether it does not. . .

"I am most anxious that this country should maintain the proposition that there is a higher law, that we view with admiration any appeal to that higher law, and that we will not listen to the doctrine that the State's interest is to be supreme, but on the contrary that we will make our authority conform to the higher standard and keep the State within its proper function, and within its proper scope."

—Lord Hugh Cecil, from a speech on "The State and Conscience," delivered in the House of Commons, November 21, 1917, in opposition to the amendment to the Reform Bill disfranchising conscientious objectors to military service. (From Henry W. Nevins's *England's Voice of Freedom*, published by Gollancz.)

What Would Happen?

Writing in the *Sunday Times* of a visit to Switzerland and Italy during the recent tension, March Cost declared recently: "I confess I have been haunted by those faces [of the Italian people] ever since—faces which are really our own under another aspect.

"Every conversation that I have had abroad confirmed this impression and on my way home I found myself wondering what would happen if for one week the Parliament of our great nation were to devote itself exclusively to the problem of our 'enemies'—needs—and if during that week the rest of the nation went *en masse* to church to pray for their members in this deliberation."

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

Inaugural Meeting

at
KINGSWAY HALL, W.C.2

on
TUESDAY, 13th JUNE, 1939
at 7.15 p.m.

Chairman: Dr. DONALD SOPER

Supported by:

Rt. Hon. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.
Professor C. E. M. JOAD
Mr. HOWARD MARSHALL
DAME SYBIL THORNDIKE
Rev. LESLIE ARTINGSTALL
FATHER ST. JOHN B. GROSER
Rev. WILLIAM DICK
Canon STUART MORRIS
Rev. ALEX MILLER
Rev. PERCY INESON
Rev. MALCOLM SPENCER
Rev. REGINALD SORESENSEN, M.P.
Rev. GILBERT SHAW
Dr. ALFRED SALTER, M.P.
Mr. STEFAN LORANT

Also: Messrs. MAURICE BRIAR, ERNEST BAKER, TURNOUR JACKSON, JAMES OLLEY, ANDREW STEWART, WILLIAM MILLMAN, Rev. PHYLLIS WEBBER.

ADMISSION FREE

HOW THEY RESISTED IN 1916 . . . No. 11

They Wouldn't Let Him Join Up in 1914—Later Jailed as a C.O.!

HE BECAME A PACIFIST DURING THE WAR

WILLIAM WHARTON, this week's contributor to our series by war-time conscientious objectors, had the unusual experience of being

Refused permission to leave the Civil Service to join up in 1914;

Offered exemption from conscription as a conscientious objector, provided he remained at his post in the Civil Service; and

Jailed for refusal to accept this conditional exemption.

How he became a pacifist during the War, and his experiences in resisting conscription, are described in the following article.

IN August, 1914, I was not a pacifist. I had done a fair amount of military training, and liked it. Most of my friends were enlisting and I wanted to be with them.

I was employed in a branch of the Civil Service and it was necessary to make application to the Head of the branch to enlist. My application was quite definitely refused as my work was considered to be of national importance.

In November, 1914, my enthusiasm for the war became less, and I read some pacifist literature. An article by Dr. Alfred Salter—a member of the Society of Friends—came into my hands.

Influence of an Article

The following are a few paragraphs from that article:

"Behind all human actions and motives there is a philosophy or creed; and behind all human actions and motives that affect us deeply there is a religion. Whatever a man thinks or does in times like these depends on what his religion is. Every man has a religion though he may not know it.

"There are only two main religions in the world—though each of them has many forms: (1) The religion which trusts in the power and the ultimate triumph of material forces—faith in materialism; (2) The religion which trusts in the power and the ultimate triumph of spiritual forces—faith in God.

"My religion is the Christian religion. I may understand it or only partly understand it, but I must speak as I have been given light. If in my bottommost heart I want to know what I must do in any given circumstance I must ask myself what is God's command on the subject and what would Christ do in my place.

"In the matter of this war I must try to picture to myself Christ as an Englishman with England at war with Germany. The Germans have overrun France and Belgium, and may possibly invade England by airship and drop bombs on London. What am I to do? Am I to answer the Prime Minister's call and make myself proficient in arms and hurry to the Continent to beat the Germans off?

"Christ in Khaki"

"Look! Christ in khaki out in France thrusting his bayonet into the body of a German workman. See! The Son of God with a machine gun ambushing a column of German infantry, catching them unawares in a lane, and mowing them down in their helplessness. Hark! The man of sorrows in a cavalry charge, cutting, hacking, thrusting, crushing, cheering.

"No! No! that picture is an impossible one, and we all know it. That settles the matter for me. I cannot uphold the war even on its supposedly defensive side, and I cannot therefore advise anyone else to take part in what I believe to be wrong and wicked for myself. A country as an individual must be prepared to follow Christ if it is to claim the title of Christian.

"Friends, the only path of safety, of sanity, of salvation is faith in God. Believe and obey! Do His will and take the consequences! Be sure that those consequences will be best for you and for the world.

"He that would save his life shall certainly lose it, but he that would lose his life for my sake shall save it."

This article did more than anything else I read to change my attitude to the War.

From November, 1914, to 1916, I gave my spare time to relief work for the Society of Friends and to peace propaganda.

Rejected Conditions

The Tribunal which I went before gave me a certificate exempting me from Military Service on condition that I remained in the Civil Service.

I returned the certificate with a letter stating that I was going on with my Civil Service peace-time work, but that if I felt it right to change my work at any future time I should do so. I was unwilling to agree to any binding condition with regard to what work I should or should not do at any future time.

I was called up for Military Service and later found myself in prison.

I was court-martialled three times and served three terms of imprisonment.

Disobeyed in Prison

During my imprisonment I openly disobeyed the rule of absolute silence which I considered wrong. I well remember one morning walking round the exercise ring arm-in-arm with an Australian soldier, giving a few words of encouragement, and being rushed upstairs into my cell and put on to bread and water diet for a few days.

During my second term of imprisonment I received a notice from the Civil Service stating that my position in the Civil Service had been declared vacant.

In 1939 I have a number of regrets, but none as regards my attitude towards conscription in 1916. If I was affected by the present Act I should take the same stand for unconditional exemption.

Beauty Before Bombers

The Air Ministry's plan to build an RAF airfield in the village of Bovingdon, beauty spot near Hemel Hempstead (Herts.) is to meet with united opposition from the inhabitants.

Their leader, Mr. F. Parish, a shopkeeper, said recently: "Even if it be in the national interest, we are not going to sacrifice the beauty of our village without a fight.

"People say it would be good for trade, but I would rather be without it than see the village full of uniforms."

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND and the CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

A Meeting arranged by the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship

Will be held in the KINGSWAY HALL on WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14

at 7.30 p.m.

Speakers:

MISS MARY GAMBLE
THE RT. HON. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.
THE REV. STUART D. MORRIS
THE REV. P. D. ROBINS

Ten-minute speeches by:—

THE REV. K. G. BUDD, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Upper Tooting
THE REV. C. G. HOLLAND, Vicar of Ewell, Surrey
THE REV. B. C. HOPSON, Vicar of Cockfosters, Barnet
THE REV. K. RAWLINGS, Rector of St. Michael's, Lewes

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Chairman: The Most Hon. The Marquis of Tavistock

ALL ANGLICAN PACIFISTS SHOULD JOIN THIS FELLOWSHIP

SUBMARINES: A Conversation with Conscience

The Admiralty regret that there is now no longer justification for hope that any further lives can be saved from the *Thetis*.

HEAVY-HEARTED with the rest of the nation I pondered on the disaster and my sympathy went out to the men's relatives and friends.

"Is that all?" asked Conscience. "Are you sorry and just nothing more? What was the *Thetis* built for?"

"For defence."

"Yes, by bringing death. The submarine is a weapon of attack. It was made to kill. There wouldn't have been sorrow here had it torpedoed some enemy transport ship at a later date. It has done what it was meant to do. It has killed, but not in the way it was intended, or those whom it was built to kill."

I struggled with the thought and Conscience continued. "And whose is the responsibility?"

"The government's, I suppose."

"Not on your life! It is yours, my Self. By your acquiescence you are allowing rearmament and making such disasters possible. What are you doing for peace? Are you using your public opinion to lead the government along pacifist lines?"

"Are you living 'in peace'? Or do you get roaring mad with the man next door when he lights a bonfire on Saturday afternoon? Do you forget that men and women in dictator countries are flesh and blood and not miniatures of their leaders? Do you ever overlook the fact that the father has to walk the bedroom with the teething baby just as you do?"

"Then you are not working for peace as you could. You are adding drops to the ocean of feeling that makes wars possible and sends men to such deaths as they met in the *Thetis*.

"Look to it," said Conscience, "throw in your drops of thought and 'public opinion' on the side of peace by peaceful measures, and I shall give you rest."

D. M. COOK.

How the "Brick Fund" Progresses

To the Editor of "Peace News"

UP to Wednesday morning the total of the Brick Fund had reached £243 17s. This could mean that 9,754 members had sent up 6d. each, but the actual position is that only 570 individuals have so far responded to Laurence Housman's appeal.

Included in this £243 17s. are two special donations of £50, and 14 group treasurers have sent up amounts representing the joint contributions of their members. Approximately 1½ percent on the Peace Pledge Union membership have so far responded.

There still remain over 114,000 bricks to be purchased.

Finally I acknowledge with grateful thanks an anonymous donation for ten bricks from the mother of an old CO in Yorkshire.

FRANK MIDDLETON.

(Laurence Housman suggested at the opening of Dick Sheppard House (the new headquarters of the Peace Pledge Union in Endsleigh Street, London), that each member of the PPU "be a brick" and help to pay for the house by sponsoring one of the 124,000 bricks of which it is built.) Contributions will be welcomed by Mr. Frank B. Middleton, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

JUNE 9, 1939.

The Editor's Point of View

"Aren't You Willing to Defend Your Country?"

WHETHER they registered as conscientious objectors or refused to register at all, those men of 20 who refuse to be trained for war will next have to "show cause" why they refuse.

A charge of disobeying the law does not seem likely to offer much scope for stating the pacifist case against either war or even the Government's claim to regiment the nation. On the other hand, a tribunal set up, not to judge whether or not a clearly defined law has been broken, but to judge whether or not a man is conscientious offers ample scope for prejudice to run riot.

Probably the commonest prejudice concerns the word "defence."

At any rate it is a fairly safe bet that every single case—whether in court or before a tribunal—will sooner or later come down to that issue. In fact, the pacifist would be wise to bring it to that issue as soon as the red herrings about bullies attacking wives appear.

There are lots of ways of putting it. But at bottom it means that the tribunal (or court—or rather public opinion, since it comes to that in the end) thinks the conscientious objector is unwilling to defend his country.

One can argue a good deal about that word "country." What does it mean? Is it an accurate or fair description of the things for which men actually fight?

But such argument only evades the real issue, which turns on the word "defend."

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How does the soldier's position compare with the pacifist's, assuming both to be sincere?

Let us admit, at the outset, that it is apt to be dangerous to generalize. Even so, we can start with the assertion that both are willing to defend their country, if by "country" we understand all that they hold dear.

It is then that prejudice generally comes in. For the big difference between them is that they are not prepared to use the same methods.

But because the pacifist is not prepared to use the method of war or war preparedness it is not reason—but can only be prejudice—to say that therefore he is unwilling to defend his country.

★

It is impossible here to give even briefly anything like an adequate statement of the pacifist's alternative method of defence.

But that is only another way in which his position resembles that of the soldier. What soldier could say at all clearly, let alone briefly, what his method of defence consists of?

Yet the pacifist is expected to state his methods, if he claims that they are alternative methods of defence. And he will then have to face the charge that they are wrong methods, either because they won't work or because it is wrong not to hit a man who has first hit you—or, as it is generally put, your wife.

Here again he can give at least as good an account of pacifist methods as the soldier could of his.

★

It is only on the final point of his sincerity that the pacifist could have any difficulty. And even that depends on the pacifist and not on pacifism.

The soldier has shown his sincerity by joining up; is showing it by submitting to training; will show it, if necessary, by giving his life. What has the pacifist done, what is he doing, to what length will he go to show the sincerity of his belief in his own method of defence?

It is up to each one to tell the tribunal. But in so far as it is implied that pacifists generally do not compare well with soldiers generally in this respect, the lives of pacifists past and present give ample proof of their readiness to put their methods into practice, to train themselves for their way of defence, and, when it has been necessary, as bravely to lay down their lives as any soldier ever did.

Humphrey S. Moore

A PACIFIST FACES A DILEMMA

Here is another comment on the dilemma posed by Rose Macaulay in the second of her two recent articles in our series "Speaking Personally."

Last week Vera Brittain contributed a comment on Miss Macaulay's "poser." Miss Macaulay's reply appears on page 9.

MISS MACAULAY asks what the pacifist can do to meet the appalling challenge of the present-day barbarians.

This is a question that is surely tormenting the mind of every conscientious pacifist. The pacifist is in an indescribably unenviable situation today.

He is distressed not only by the sufferings of the persecuted and by his inability to do more than alleviate their sufferings, when his means and his government allow him; not only by his anticipations of the fate in store for his own countrymen if the worst comes to the worst, and by his own helplessness in the face of this menace; he is distressed also by the reproaches of those who cannot possibly appreciate his point of view and whose incomprehension is tacitly endorsed by the surrender to bewilderment of such brilliant and courageous thinkers as Miss Macaulay.

The dilemma is heartbreaking, I know. The crimes of the new barbarians revolt the humanitarian pacifist even more than they revolt the humanitarian militarist (such as John Cornford).

The former is so horrified by the bestiality and imbecility of modern warfare that he cannot engage in it even to "save the innocent." He knows, in fact, that the innocent are not saved. China, Abyssinia and Spain have surely given only too abundant proof of that fact.

He knows the hollowness of the slogan: *They shall not pass.* They do pass. They always will pass. They always have passed. "They" have been British also, at one time, in the "outposts of Empah" and elsewhere, and they have inflicted unbearable suffering on the innocent, though not much has been said about this in our history books.

★

WHEN "they" (whatever their nationality) pass anywhere, they must immediately consolidate their position.

That is why a famous German soldier (whose name I nevertheless forget!) said that the worst calamity that could befall any nation was for it to win a war. He knew that wars are never won. Out of the ashes the avenger will arise.

So the winner at once constructs Maginot and similar lines. And the avenger duly arises.

Each time, however, he has to face a bigger and more powerful victor. Therefore, he must be a bigger and more powerful avenger. Such a man is Hitler.

"To hear Hitler use the word 'Brutalität' is to feel bruised all over," wrote H. N. Brailsford. Precisely.

But is his brutality any worse than that "suspended brutality" (if I may so term it) of French militarism which, as G. E. R. Gedy points out in *The Revolver Republic*, aimed at keeping Germany in everlasting subjection and not only drove the Germans to adopt the old Macedonian slogan "Better an end with terror than a terror without end" but also gave Hitler the heaven-sent opportunity to attract recruits to his "brutality machine" by adopting as his slogan: "The only language they understand is that of force!" Those who doubt the authenticity of this statement should read *The Revolver Republic*.

Readers of that book will also make the somewhat startling discovery that when, in 1923, the French were terrorizing the Rhinelanders with an army of hired thugs, they "conspired with that notorious Fascist, Adolf Hitler!" If Hitler had, as they desired, helped them to dismember Germany, he would now be a popular hero in France (and elsewhere!). Instead, he cheated the conspirators by turning out to be a fanatical patriot and by uniting his adopted country as it had never been united before.

★

HITLER won his little wars against his own countrymen and against the framers of the Versailles Treaty. And then he also had to consolidate, to push forward his North-West Frontier.

Meanwhile, however, the former victors had re-armed. So Hitler's consolidation had to be correspondingly greater.

Now, what is it that compels the avenger to arise and to win his particular war, creating yet another avenger who will in turn arise to crush him, while wars grow greater and greater and come at last to involve every baby in every cradle?

I submit that it is the fact that human beings are everywhere transgressing a fundamental law of this universe, namely that men must co-operate or they will

perish. The existence of weapons of warfare is evidence that the owners are not prepared to co-operate with someone or other. *I do not care who it is or why.*

There always has been and always will be an excellent case made out for the retention and use of the weapons of slaughter. The fact remains that so long as they exist men will not co-operate. They are afraid to take the risk of abandoning their weapons.

The military who pride themselves (and often with justice) on their valour, are afraid to take the only step that will make co-operation possible. Their only alternative is, therefore, to be as brutal as the avenger, even if that brutality merely consists in "confronting the bandit Powers with an overwhelming array of force" and again driving the innocent to agree that an end with terror is better than a terror without end and that the only language "they" understand is that of force!

★

THE existence of the weapons of slaughter makes co-operation impossible and war inevitable. ("The general truth," writes Lowes Dickinson, "that the existence of armaments is enough to provoke war".)

The pacifist who realizes this sees with horror the terrible treatment of the innocent Czechs, but cannot forget that Czecho-Slovakia was the arsenal of Europe. The British pacifist knows how many times his own country has "passed" in the course of its history and how many avengers have arisen and are ready to arise.

We have so far won all our wars, and now we must pay for them. If this payment took the form of a voluntary renunciation of our "power," with the heavy sacrifices that that would involve, the innocent would still have to suffer, but infinitely less than as a result of another Great War; for no suffering, however great, can be as great as that imposed by warfare.

But there will be no such voluntary "drawing of the dragon's teeth." Hence the terrible whirlwind that we are about to reap.

All that the pacifist can do is refuse to sow or help sow any more teeth, in the knowledge that the less that are sown, the less terrible will be the whirlwind. There are, of course, pitifully few pacifists, but they will be pitifully fewer if those who "see the light" abandon their position.

Someone has got to start. Every innovation demands its martyrs. They do not seek martyrdom; but neither do they "dodge the column."

If they did, there would be no radium, no aeroplanes (one of the finest inventions since the world began, despite ARP) and, so far as pacifism is concerned, no hope for mankind.

DAVID ROBERTS

An Anthology of Peace and War

Arranged by Vincent Long

ANTHONY TROLLOPE

MY feeling is that a man should die rather than be made a soldier against his will. One's country has no right to demand everything. There is much that is higher and better and greater than one's country. One is patriotic only because one is too small and too weak to be cosmopolitan. If a country cannot get along without a military conscription it had better give up—and let its children seek other ties.

SAMUEL BUTLER

'TIS true our modern way of war
Is grown more politic by far,
But not so resolute and bold,
Nor tied to honour as the old.
For now they laugh at giving battle,
Unless it be to herds of cattle,
Or fighting convoys of provision,
The whole design o' the expedition.

★ ★ ★ ★

For 'tis not now, who's stout and bold?
But who bears hunger best and cold?
And he's approved the most deserving
Who longest can hold out at starving:
And he that routs most pigs and cows
The formidablest man of prowess.

—Hudibras.

How Friends Are Found For Refugees

IGNORANT of the language and of English ways of living, with little money for recreation, and with no friends, refugees entering Britain are often compelled to pass the greater part of their time in unhappy boredom.

Even those who are in employment or are being trained for emigration often suffer from the extreme loneliness of their position.

This is one branch of the work for refugees in which a great deal can be accomplished by good will, with comparatively little expenditure of funds. Provincial refugee committees can do much by the provision of facilities for friendly intercourse between the inhabitants of their localities and refugees who are established there.

HOSPITALITY PROVIDED

Here are a few of the ways in which the refugees' lot is being improved in this respect:

The German Emergency Committee of the Society of Friends has set up an after-care sub-committee which concerns itself not merely with the allocation of monetary grants to those in financial difficulties while awaiting emigration, employment, or training, but which also attempts to look after the wider mental, physical, and spiritual needs of refugees. A workroom has been started in which women meet and work together in remaking old clothes into new. The garments are given away to those refugees in need.

The Welfare Department of the German Jewish Aid Committee provides advice and information. Through the medium of its clubs, the Association of Jewish Youth offers social entertaining during the week, and week-end hospitality to young people. A committee of young women has made itself responsible for daily hospital and after-care visits to sick refugees.

The Midwives' Institute takes a special interest in midwifery trainees. It has arranged to notify local branches of refugees pupil-midwives in their area, and to ask them to get into touch with them.

Hospitals look after refugee trainees as they would look after British Probationers, nurses, and midwives.

Valuable help in respect of social welfare for refugees generally can be given by organizations which are not integrally related to the refugee organizations.

Fellowship of C.O.'s Formed

YOUNG MEN "REFUSE TO PREPARE FOR SLAUGHTER OF BROTHERS"

Labour Urged to Resist Conscription

TO enable conscientious objectors to conscription to unite for mutual support and encouragement, a Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors was formed in London last week. Membership is confined to young men affected by the Military Training Bill.

This development recalls the formation during the early days of the Great War of the No Conscription Fellowship, which not only supported conscientious objectors in various ways but also carried on a great deal of propaganda work.

Formation of the new Fellowship was announced by Fenner Brockway at a National Conference held by the No Conscription League in Bermondsey Town Hall on Sunday. The response to a letter from Fenner Brockway in the *Labour Leader* in 1914 led to the formation of the war-time NCF.

In a statement just issued the Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors declares:

"We young men of conscription age express our intention to resist the conscription which the Government is attempting to impose upon us.

"We have had no responsibility for the world which now threatens to bring war and suffering to millions. Our desire is to establish a new world in which the social and economic causes of war are removed, and we are not prepared to be conscripted to defend the system of injustice and inequality which we are determined to end.

"We refuse to engage in preparations for the slaughter of our brothers in other lands, and call upon all who share with our convictions to join with us in our refusal."

The secretary, Mr. Frank Cole, of 84 Review Road, Willesden, London, N.W., will be pleased to give any information about the Fellowship, which has decided to apply for affiliation to the No Conscription League.

Nearly 550 delegates and 35 individuals attended the National Conference held by the No Conscription League on Sunday. They had come from many part of the

country and included 76 delegates from Labour Party organizations; 91 from the Independent Labour Party; 83 from pacifist organizations (including 75 from the PPU); 95 from Co-operative organizations; and 84 from NCL branches, &c.

Fenner Brockway told the conference he believed that the No Conscription League was destined to fulfil a much bigger task than they had yet seen.

Labour Opposition Urged

A lengthy resolution adopted by the conference

proclaimed "unalterable opposition to conscription, introduced under whatever pretext or by whatever Government";

Called upon "all working-class and democratic bodies concerned about the liberties of the people to resist by all the means at their disposal the Military Training Act";

Expressed its "determination to support all young men who refuse to be conscripted under the Act, whether for military or civilian service";

Pledged "full support to those in the Labour movement who are prepared to meet this challenge to liberty by: (a) withdrawing all representatives from National Service committees; (b) refusing all trade union concessions for armament work; (c) refusing all overtime on such work; (d) withdrawing their labour.

Will Work for Repeal

The delegates also approved a resolution pledging themselves to

"Labour untiringly for the repeal of the Act; 'Actively advance the proposition within their unions that any trade unionist victimized as a conscientious objector, whether the objection be based on political, religious, or moral grounds, shall receive moral and material assistance from the unions concerned; and

"Give every possible assistance to the development of Shop Steward organizations to guard against victimization, and to prepare the struggle against industrial conscription."

The resolution also recognized that "many young workers will accept conscription unwillingly, and not realizing the implications," and promised them the "full support of the League on issues relating to their political, trade union, civic, and individual rights and for improved conditions."

During discussion of various amendments and additions to the original resolution put before the conference, there were some unfortunate references by Left-wing speakers to what one of them called the "individual heroics" of conscientious objectors; it was suggested that pacifists would not be fighting conscription unless they also participated in the whole working-class struggle.

Such speakers were rebuked by (among others) C. A. Smith, chairman of the Independent Labour Party, who said that maximum resistance to conscription must be individual and collective.

Urging the need for tolerance, he instanced the belief of some members of the ILP that conscription might be a necessary evil; they thought, however, that such a thing was so remote in time and circumstances that they did not intend to waste time arguing about it. On the conscription issue they were standing together with pacifists, whether the latter were socialists or not.

Dangerous Youth Movements

John Barclay, of the Peace Pledge Union, told how PPU membership was growing rapidly and offered the co-operation of PPU groups.

Many speakers urged the need for activity within the Labour movement, and Fenner Brockway, in opening the dis-

cussion on organization, said they wanted delegates to go back to their co-operative, labour, and trade union organizations and say that the conference had made it clear that if their ideals were to be realized it must be in the day-to-day political and industrial struggle in which they were engaged.

He stressed the danger of youth "peace" movements mobilizing youth for war. This danger, he said, could be counteracted by the NCL Youth Section.

Nation-Wide Campaign Continues

Meanwhile the campaign against conscription has continued unabated throughout the country. Besides the special efforts made by pacifists on Saturday, registration day for men affected by the Act (referred to elsewhere in this issue), and the setting up of local advisory bureaux (of which the first list appears on page 11), there have been special meetings and other activities. Some of these are reported below.

The great demonstration in Caernarvon, attended by 10,000 people (which was reported last week) was but the climax to a vigorous campaign through South Caernarvonshire during the previous fortnight.

The case was presented from the Christian standpoint and was enthusiastically received by thousands of listeners in all parts of the country. Strong resolutions against militarism and conscription were carried without a dissentient vote.

There was a strong determination to oppose the measure as being contrary to the best traditions of Wales and the Christian faith. The Crusade was being organized and carried out by a strong group comprising all denominations.

On Empire Air Day an open-air meeting was held at Pwllheli near the Penrhos Aerodrome, and over 2,000 people listened attentively and enthusiastically to the speeches of the Rev. O. M. Lloyd, of Nefyn, and the Rev. J. W. Jones, of Criccieth.

A letter was sent to the Premier and to the Press to explain the position in Caernarvonshire.

Under the auspices of the South Caernarvonshire Church Ministers a very successful open-air meeting was held at Portmadoc, North Wales. Speakers were the Rev. W. D. Jones, the Rev. A. Roberts and the Rev. R. W. Rowlands.

This was the second meeting of its kind. Both were attended by many PPU members, and five new members have been enrolled as a result of these and other recent meetings. The Portmadoc PPU group now has about 35 members after being in existence for about eighteen months.

A public protest meeting against conscription will be held in the Circus Street Hall, Nottingham, on Friday next, June 16, when national speakers from the PPU, FoR, Society of Friends, and ILP will put forward their case.

The leaflet, *Why You Should Think About Conscription*, has been delivered to practically every house in Beddington, Wallington, Sutton, Carshalton, Banstead, and Burgh Heath. On the back of the leaflet were the names of a preliminary panel of people willing to assist conscientious objectors. Other public figures and all members of the clergy are being approached with a view to their names being added to the panel.

In the distribution of the leaflet there was co-operation between neighbouring groups of the PPU, FoR, and sections of the Labour Party. The general reaction in well-to-do areas was extremely hostile; in working-class areas, friendly, though not necessarily sympathetic.

"Conscription means industrial slavery," declares a 1d. pamphlet just issued by the No Conscription League and entitled *What Happened in the Great War*. It shows how military conscription was used to bring about industrial conscription.

The pamphlet is obtainable from the No Conscription League, 60b Fort Road, Bermondsey, S.E.1, at 4s. 6d. per 100 copies, post free.

Many Objectors "Sacked" For Their Convictions

CASES of men being dismissed from their employment merely because they have a conscientious objection to military service are daily being reported to the Peace Pledge Union.

Typical of these cases is that of Mr. A. H. Gleave, twenty-year-old clerk, who has lost his employment with R. Fielding & Son, a Blackpool firm of builders.

His employers have testified that during the four years he worked for them they "have found him very conscientious in his work, always giving us entire satisfaction," but that they "have been obliged to intimate to him that we have no room on our staff for employees who hold these exceptional views."

Mr. Gleave, a member of the Peace Pledge Union, told *Peace News* how, ten days before he was twenty and before the Military Training Bill became law, he was called before Mr. H. Matthews, manager of R. Fielding & Son, who said he had just heard of Mr. Gleave's views.

ATTITUDE TO CONSCRIPTION

"A week or more previously, in the course of conversation about conscription, I had told another member of the staff I could not accept it because I was a pacifist," he said.

"The manager asked for my attitude toward the Bill, in view of the fact that I would soon be twenty.

"When I told him, he said he had 'no room on his staff for such people.' I received my notice the next day.

"I had worked for him for four years as a clerk and cost-clerk and, had I not been dismissed, should now have been in the chief clerk's position—temporarily, at least."

"PECULIAR" VIEWS

"In a statement to the Press the manager said: 'It would have been impossible for me to place complete reliance in future on Mr. Gleave's judgment'—after four years during which I held these views!

"Had he been an ordinary labourer," the manager continued, "I would not have concerned myself about his private views, but I felt his views were what I regard as peculiar and that I could not employ him in a staff position entailing the exercise of a great deal of tact and discretion and bringing him into contact with people who might be averse to having dealings with anyone holding such views."

BACKED BY FAMILY

Mr. Gleave's attitude toward conscription is shared by his mother, father, sister, and fiancée.

The *West Lancashire Evening Gazette* has given prominence to his dismissal, and has published an editorial and correspondence on the matter.

The case has been taken up by the National Council for Civil Liberties.

The Exemptions Committee (the group of MP's watching the treatment of CO's) offers to take up the cases of men dismissed as conscientious objectors. Send particulars of such cases to the convener, Cecil H. Wilson, MP, at the House of Commons.

No "Dole" for Objector To A.R.P. Drill

THE Court of Referees has rejected a claim for unemployment benefit made by Miss Elsie Page, who was discharged by British Celanese, Ltd., for refusal to take part in the firm's ARP exercises.

This decision follows the precedent set when a claim made by Mr. A. E. Bayntun, an Edmonton man discharged in similar circumstances, was rejected recently.

The Court has given Miss Page leave to appeal, which she intends to exercise.

Peace News is pleased to report that Miss Page has now obtained other employment.

WANTED: A Home

The War Resisters' International is anxious to find a home for Renate Polgar, whose photograph you see here. She is 7½ years old and comes from Brünn, Czechoslovakia. A guarantee is needed for her. The parents are known to a Czech member of the WRI. Help is urgently needed.

WRITE TO:
The War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

BOOKS

An A.B.C. of the Palestine Problem

by PHILIP S. MUMFORD

The Problem of Palestine. Maude Royden. Hutchinson Special. 6d.

Palestine Policeman. Roper Courtney. Jenkins. 10s. 6d.

HERR HITLER has recently paid tribute to the British "flair" for colonization and there can be no doubt that there are many aspects of the British Empire of which we may well be proud. The personal honesty and humanity of the officials we send to undeveloped and other areas are of an exceptionally high order. This undoubted virtue has its dangers, however, and has been one of the main factors in blending the British public to aspects of Imperialism which ought to be clearly laid before them. Fascinated by one aspect which tickles our self-esteem, we study the reverse side of the coin.

Whatever may be said for or against British policy and behaviour in other parts of the world during the past century, Palestine must and will stand out in history as one of our greatest and most tragic blunders.

Seeking the Truth

Dr. Royden has attempted to give the British public a simple account of the Palestine problem, and the surprising fact is that no-one should have undertaken this much-needed task before now. There is, of course, plenty of literature upon the subject for those who wish to make a full study of a very complicated situation or for those who are already versed in some aspects of it. Up till now, however, there has been nothing for the average busy citizen who wanted the A.B.C. of Palestine politics and realized how deeply concerned and responsible all of us must be for the violence that is rife in the Holy Land—a place for whose good government we are responsible.

This is a perfectly simple little book divided into five chapters; The Jews, The Arabs, The British in Palestine, Two Civilizations and finally a solution of the problem.

Dr. Royden is concerned with one thing only—to find the truth of the matter, and it is amazing how simplifying a power truth can be: The truth in this particular instance being that the Balfour Declaration was neither a practical, fair or honest document.

"It was a statement issued by the British Government in November, 1917, that

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

Arabs Not Consulted

It is concerned with Palestine; that is to say, with an Arab country to whose people we had promised their freedom, and in return, had their support in war. But the wishes of those people were never once consulted.

It is concerned with Palestine; that is to say with a country whose inhabitants were 90 percent Arabs, but the word Arab does not appear in the whole of this extraordinary document.

It is concerned with Palestine; that is to say with a people who had inhabited the Holy Land for thirteen hundred years; yet all the recognition of their existence and presence is a reference from time to time to the "non-Jewish communities. . . The British Government had no right to make this promise."

This, of course, is the plain super truth and Dr. Royden is to be congratulated upon bringing the facts to the public notice.

Incidentally, I hear that her book has been suppressed in Palestine and that attempts are being made to discourage its sale in England!

As the author points out the meaning of a National Home has never been defined

and anything like a National Jewish State as claimed by the political Zionists today could never have been introduced. In chapter V Dr. Royden answers those who would comfort themselves with the specious argument that the Arabs have benefited by the presence of the Jewish immigrants.

Yet I have heard a notable Jewish speaker in this country declare that "it is the Jews who have made Palestine what it is." Is that so indeed? And is that a boast or a confession?

Dr. Royden is not, of course, anti-Jewish, but is merely a British citizen who would like to help that unfortunate race by giving them something of our own rather than by offering them what belongs to the Arabs—a simple, honest solution that would benefit the British, the Arabs and the Jews alike instead of bringing strife to all three of them.

Palestine Policeman is quite a different type of book and little or nothing about Palestine people or politics are to be learnt from it. It does, however, sometimes inadvertently, give an interesting, if unpleasant picture of the state to which British policy has reduced that unhappy, if holy, land.

It also throws an interesting sidelight upon the mentality of those whose daily life of work lies in close contact with brutality.

"A Bit of Terrorism"

Thus the author—a policeman in Palestine—

"I often thought I would like to go in for a bit of terrorism myself. . . I worked out my private terrorist plan and forwarded it to certain quarters. . . We would disguise ourselves as Arabs. . . and then pay a visit to one of the terrorist organizers whom we knew to be guilty, but who was safe from the ordinary legal processes. We would call upon him at night, quietly entering his house while he slept. If, on being aroused, he reached for a gun, we'd shoot him dead there and then. If not, we'd hustle him out into our car and 'give him the works' miles away along the quiet road, where the body mightn't be found for some time."

It does not appear that headquarters approved of the plan! It would appear, however, that the Government approves of certain actions which may surprise some people at home.

Your Responsibility

For example:

"There was a fellow I caught myself one night. I was sitting in my accustomed spot in the garden cafe when I became aware that there was a man dodging from one bush to another. . . Our prisoner was a Palestine Arab who had been across to Syria, and was about to step back into Palestine again when I had caught him. Obviously we had got an important messenger. But we could not make him talk. I knocked him about. I beat a tattoo on the soles of his feet with a rubber truncheon. He wept. He writhed. He moaned. But he would not utter a word."

Such things are, of course, inevitable and will continue until the problem of Palestine is faced courageously and honestly as Dr. Royden faces it. The danger is that the present situation which is the result of a dishonest war bargain may merely be worsened by being concerned mainly in the layout of future "strategical" needs. What can the Arabs and/or the Jews be made to promise in the way of military help in the next war, or perhaps what new promises can we make them to keep them both quiet?

It is high time that people at home took a serious interest in Palestine.

Life of Woodrow Wilson

Reviewing Mr. Baker's official biography of Woodrow Wilson in the new number of *International Affairs*, Mr. E. H. Carr, a well-known University Professor of International Relations, writes: "History is bound to record that the President, having entered the war, fell a victim to the full virulence of the fight to a finish hysteria which as a neutral he had so strongly decried."

The League from Year to Year

THE information Section of the Secretariat has just published, as it does each year, a volume dealing with the general activities of the League of Nations in the course of the past year.

A glance at the list of the main chapters shows the general scope of the volume. These deal with legal and constitutional questions (including information on the progress of discussions regarding the application of the Covenant and the question of Swiss neutrality); political questions; Permanent Court of International Justice; mandates; intellectual co-operation; economic and financial work; Communications and Transit Organization.

The book (price 1s.) is published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, W.C.1, on behalf of the League of Nations.

All in a Maze

THE LESSONS OF THE PAST

NOT all people are reasonable in a world whose nerves are on edge; and, as Mr. Chamberlain observed, public opinion is not without influence even in countries where there is no expression of free opinion. When Mr. Chamberlain justifies his determination to "strain every nerve to prevent a repetition of the last Great War in Europe" by reference to the appalling casualties and the common subsequent misery of every belligerent, his audience at home and farther afield might well remember the many hospitals still filled with patients who should be a living warning to any system of government not to forget the lessons of the past.

—*The Times* (leading article). July 4th, 1938.

The above is an extract from the Peace and War anthology "All in a Maze," by Daniel George, with some assistance from Rose Macaulay. It is published by Collins, 6s. net.

A Psychologist on Pacifism

How Do You Know? by E. Graham Howe. PPU 6d.

THE pamphlets of the PPU are an important part of its educational work, as regards both members and others, in that they represent the concentrated essence of their authors' thought applied to pacifism.

From the point of view of inclusiveness and depth of approach there are perhaps half a dozen of these publications that are really important. Of them this is certainly one.

Dr. Graham Howe is probably the most eminent psychologist produced by this country. His importance is not minimized by the fact that he does not try to talk in learned language and isolate psychology into a separate science. He is interested in its application to life and his English is simple and pungent.

His books, *War Dance* and *Time and the Child*, were like a cool breath of Eastern wisdom on our heated Western brows. In this pamphlet, which takes the form of a conversation between a reasonable and a wise man, he has managed to incorporate his fundamental philosophy, and with great good humour he makes us examine our most cherished, and therefore carefully concealed, premises. The humour of the presentation goes hand in hand with the profoundest evaluation of essentials.

The functions and abuses of the four powers of the psyche—intuition, thought, feeling and sensation—are carefully examined. Particular attention is given to the tendency to allow reason to dictate a morality for action instead of allowing time for a balanced view followed by right action in space and time. . . . "the purpose of suffering is to create right or appropriate action."

Applications of this philosophy throughout the pamphlet to present problems—Education, Democracy and War—produce epigrammatic paragraphs that contain more

wisdom than whole tomes which have been written on the subjects and new meaning is breathed into dead words as in the simple juxtaposition of "like if" and "love in spite of."

"Democracy does not impose fruit from outside and above as dictatorship does, but grows it according to its nature from seed to fruit in course of time."

"War is the natural use of force between dictatorships. It is not a part of true democracy. But it is not enough only to aim at excluding war, because that very gesture of exclusiveness is alien to the principles of democracy. You have to see, instead, the possibility of living positively, inclusively, generously, with insight, sympathy and understanding for all who differ. Democracy must be inclusive even in its attitude towards dictatorships, or else fall victim to their own way of living."

This is a fine message to converted and unconverted alike and should form part of every pacifist library.

Kenneth Pride

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Why Readers Oppose Conscription The Pacifist Dilemma

THE letter from Mr. Walkerdene in the issue of June 2 needs a reply. He says, "until the happy time arrives (a warless world)—we must prepare to fight." That means he is willing to sanction war until it is abolished.

How does Mr. Walkerdene expect a warless world to come into being? Does he pray for peace and expect God to perform a miracle? Does not God work through humanity and therefore does not an ideal come to fulfilment by the determination of individual idealists to make of a vision a reality by working for it.

Surely the "conchies" (Mr. Walkerdene's term) of yesterday—today are the pioneers and missionaries who will contribute valuable help towards the establishment of a peaceful world.

He also says that to prevent war you must change human nature itself. Is not human nature constantly changing? Is there not a growing yearning throughout the world for peace and brotherhood between nations and men of far greater intensity than at any other period of the world's history? And are not the "conchies" willing to make sacrifices from ridicule and imprisonment even unto death for their belief in the ideal of world citizenship? Patriotism is surely not enough.

GEORGE E. CULMAR.

175 Upper Street, Islington, N.1.

Mr. Walkerdene asks "Why not conscription? Because (1) It is another step toward war. The more people are prepared for war and trapped in the war machine, the less they are free to save England from war.

(2) It is a step toward dictatorship and the totalitarian State which Mr. Chamberlain took at the request of dictator Daladier and his dictator Allies in Russia, Greece, Roumania and Poland.

(3) If not repealed the youth of future generations are practically lost to Christ and peace, since their outlook at a critical period of life will be formed by those who are training them to kill.

(4) It is anti-Christian. You cannot love God with all your heart and your neighbour as yourself and at the same time learn to kill your neighbour and God's children.

(5) It is the first step toward abolishing British freedom and imposing military slavery, for once individual freedom has gone, the word "democracy" is mockery.

(6) It is undemocratic, as it adopts the totalitarian attitude that the individual must be sacrificed to "the State." In a democracy the State exists for the individual. Moreover, Mr. Chamberlain had no mandate from the people of England for this act. In so far as Denmark, Sweden, &c., enforce military training, they, too, depart from true democracy.

R. M.

"Price of Ceylon Tea"

Since reaching England I have read Amy Moore's letter in a recent issue of *Peace News*. As I feel that little can be gained by a continuation of this correspondence in a paper devoted to the cause of peace I do not propose to make a lengthy reply.

No doubt Amy Moore wrote in good faith, and I can only assure her that Government statistics notwithstanding, the European planter does not exploit the Tamil coolie and that the statements in the original article gave a completely false idea of labour conditions in Ceylon on European-owned and managed estates.

I have been twenty years in Ceylon and have worked on ten different estates. Let your readers form their own conclusions.

I should add that as regards wages I had overlooked the fact that they were reduced during the recent slump; but I pointed out that I considered wages low.

J. H. CARDEW.

Comfort Cottage, Worthing.

(This correspondence is now closed.—Ed.)

IT is literally impossible to publish all the letters we receive.

Other things being equal, letters of not more than 200 words stand the best chance of publication.

Conscientious Objectors and Service

THERE is an ever-growing feeling among many pacifists that the occupations in which they are engaged day by day will not stand honest and open reflection from a Christian, ethical, or rational basis. Today most young men "must have a career" but it is not often asked whether that career is to be a useful one to society, or whether it will enhance the moral or spiritual life. The test is always taken from an acquisitive standard. "You must get on in life, you must do something that will bring you a good living." Acquisitiveness, competition, is accepted as the natural thing. On examination we find it is very closely related to the ethics of militarism and war.

Laurence Housman, writing recently in *Peace News*, said: "We have built up for ourselves what is obviously an acquisitive society in which the acquisition of good is sectional, pushing, competitive, and unequal in its incidence, not by accident but by plan. And in defence of that acquisitive and competitive society, we need war; for we are only defending what seems to be our natural right."

It seems that what is wanted among pacifists is some outlet for a practical way of life other than that of acquisitiveness. Further, the young men who are to appear before the tribunals will possibly be faced with the question as to whether their work can be considered as work of national importance. Very few will be able to answer in the affirmative. Therefore I suggest that it would be perhaps a good thing if these young men could say that they are really engaged in some such work.

The way in which this can be done is for the various pacifist organizations to get hold of farms where active and practical work could be offered these young fellows. Fruit farming would give perhaps the best results, or of course the ordinary course of farming could be done, with the most objectionable features put on one side. Such farms should not be run on commercial lines, nevertheless they should be well cultivated. There would be no difficulty in disposing of the pro-

ducts among the various social organizations that are in sore need of such service. Such a place could be a good training centre for young pacifists. These farms could be open to youth before they attain the military age, thereby building up a nucleus of young pacifists.

It seems necessary at this time for all pacifists to face up to the modern conditions of society, and, if we really mean something by our pacifism, to follow a path which is different from that of competitive society, as for example the Bruderhof folk are showing, where there are a large body of pacifists living a more or less useful life.

The ordinary methods of propaganda are of a very questionable nature. Perhaps we are too concerned at converting the other fellow, and it might be that his reaction often sends him pell-mell in the opposite direction. Whereas, if he found that the pacifist was living and doing something in life so different from the conventional and acquisitive society his reaction might be of a different nature.

E. H. CLOGG.

Community Fruit Service, Bleadon.

I am sure pacifists everywhere were with the 1.7 percent 20-year-olds in thought on June 3, and as they made history by registering their conscientious objection to military service, we registered our eternal gratitude to them for the courageous stand they made for their pacifist faith.

These 3,775 boys have shown that despite never ceasing military propaganda they can keep their heads and dare to make a stand for peace and sanity in this hysterical fear-ridden world. They have kept faith with those conscientious objectors of 20 odd years ago and they mean to pass on the torch of pacifism to those whose turn for registration will come next. This 1.7 percent is only the beginning—but a very creditable beginning none the less.

WINIFRED CUMMINGS.

59a Abingdon Villas, Kensington, W.8.

What About a "Peace Service Holiday"?

I FEEL that every pacifist who can possibly afford it should go abroad this summer, particularly to Germany. Misunderstanding and fear between our two peoples are growing daily. Our task as pacifists is therefore plain—to create more understanding and friendship. The best method is either for us to visit Germany or to invite Germans to our homes.

Peace Pledge Union members can either make up their own parties or join one of the specially organized trips to Germany. If they go privately, I suggest that they make their arrangements through one of the bodies mentioned on page 31 of the *Peace Service Handbook*, who can provide them with contacts and special terms.

Individuals wishing to go to a holiday centre should apply to the International Friendship League. Their prices in Germany range from £5 15s. for 8 days in Cologne.

Those who prefer a walking or cycling holiday should join one of the trips organized by the International Tramping Tours. A 15-day cycling trip in Germany with them costs only £9, or a walking tour in the Rhine and Moselle Valley costs the same.

And then there are three special organized trips which deserve mention—there are probably more, but I haven't heard of them.

The friendly visits to Germany sponsored by the Rev. Leslie Weatherhead and arranged by World Friendship Tours Ltd., cost £7 7s. for one week, £10 10s. for two weeks. The visits are to Dusseldorf where special contacts have been made. These parties will not represent any section or society or organization. They are neither more nor less than they claim to be—people who want to make friends. Already there has been a good response to this idea.

And will any young people who would like to visit Germany during August week, walking from one Youth Hostel to the next and trying to be of active service wherever possible, communicate with Mr. Ken Thomason, 160 Reedings Lane, Hall Green, Birmingham 11, enclosing a stamped addressed envelope. He will make all arrangements if you can tell him name, address, age, whether you are a member of PPU and YHA, whether you have a valid passport with a German visa. The cost will be about £6.

Today I have also received information of a trip to Bremen at the invitation of the Bremen Anglo-German Circle. This is from September

2 to 13. Other trips could probably be arranged if there were enough applications. This would cost 2s. 6d. per day and the fare would be £5 5s. 9d. Will those interested write to Mr. J. D. Monro, Dalraven, Keswick, Cumberland, for further information.

Help to coin a new phrase: "A Peace Service Holiday," and you won't regret it.

DAVID SPRECKLEY.

6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Work or Institution

We of the National Unemployed Workers' Movement have from time to time some cases of extreme hardship and poverty to deal with, and one such we are dealing with at present, an Egyptian subject, well educated and an interpreter by profession but who is now reduced to apply to the Public Assistance Committee for food tickets for his wife and two little children. He has the command of several languages and has excellent credentials.

Roy Walker suggested I write to you with a view to an appeal being published in your journal for a job of work for the man to prevent him being forced into an institution, which would mean the breaking up of his home and the end of his career. He has struggled hard to avoid this but has now reached a stage of desperation.

We have promised, and in fact, have done all we possibly can for this unfortunate family and hope that perhaps some good Samaritan will come to the rescue with an offer of work. He would be willing to accept any kind of job.

WILLIAM THOMPSON.

24 Stonefield Street, Islington, N.1.

"Conscription and Conscience"

If you wish to create a demand for John William Graham's *Conscription and Conscience*, may I suggest you appeal to all groups to purchase a copy for the use of its members. Also ask the Fellowship of Reconciliation to appeal to its various groups to do the same. Copies might be purchased for presentation to the Public Libraries. Groups, starting lending libraries, should be an income producing proposition.

A. HEATON.

4 Grove Avenue, Broad Road, Acoccks Green, Birmingham 27.

*It is hoped that groups will order quantities, and not just one each.—Ed.

I AM a little disappointed that Miss Brittain, in her article "Are we Fascists?" does not apply herself more specifically to the vital and very difficult question of the right pacifist attitude, which shall neither betray the human and pacifist values now being so savagely assaulted and destroyed by the Nazi Government in Germany and elsewhere, nor be war-like.

That pacifists should be abused and called Fascist by opponents seems to me irrelevant, and not very important; the point is, are they actually, though unwittingly, strengthening Fascism and betraying its victims by apparent condonation of cruelty? Is (for example) membership of the Nazi society—the *Link* compatible with real and thought-out pacifism?

It certainly shocks some of the best among the German people that English people—and pacifists of all others—should thus seem to abandon the cause of freedom and tolerance and abet their persecutors. Where to draw the fine line between friendliness to a nation and apparent excusal of the behaviour of their government—that is the question; and it is one that can and should be discussed by pacifists. Perhaps other pacifists feel clearer about it than I do.

ROSE MACAULAY.

We are faced on all sides by peoples and statesmen who, offering various and varying excuses, have failed to renounce old-fashioned narrow nationalism and international competition in favour of co-operation, and are taking (and inflicting upon one another) the modern consequences of their failure.

All apportionment of blame is futile—or worse than futile. But pacifists can show themselves to be the reverse of callous, bellicose or silly by embarking upon the most determined attempt conceivably possible to bring about an international conference to discuss any proposals that have been made—Mr. Streit's for example, for what he has aptly described as *Union Now*.

W. B. Curry, who reviewed Mr. Streit's book for *Peace News*, and has already addressed at least one public meeting on the subject, thinks we must proceed without the dictators. I feel that invitations to the conference should be sent to all nations through their present representatives, Hitler and Mussolini not excepted, no such proposal has ever been made to them; who can say they would reject it, even though it demands democratic government? After all, dictatorship is not a one-man job, and how like dictatorships democracies get to look when confronted with the difficulties inherent in National Sovereignty!

B. BURNE.

71 Park Avenue, Hull.

"Privileged Spectator"— Another View

Because I pay tribute to your paper as a guide to clear thinking on the paramount issue of the day—pacifism or violence—and have recommended it to people equally troubled as myself, I was utterly astonished to read the almost incredibly silly review of Ethel Mannin's *Privileged Spectator*.

This book I found to be a sincere and deeply moving record of the experiences and thoughts, in recent years, of a woman who has been, and still is, a really vital influence for sanity and decency in a world sadly in need of more like her.

One of the most eloquent pleas for pacifism even written is contained in *Privileged Spectator*; apart from that the whole book is a sensitive, yet vivid interpretation of the reactions of one of the keenest minds of our time to the places she has been and the people she has met. What is our greatest literature if not just that?

We would all, I am sure, read with just as absorbed an interest, a "record of journeys made, rooms lived in, meals eaten, drinks imbibed and people encountered" by Mr. Stewart himself, could he do it with an imaginative insight equal to Ethel Mannin's.

I am afraid, however, that the man who could advise an artist to "shake the wheat from the chaff" and "write a pamphlet with 'What Pacifism means to me,' or something equally suitable for a title," reveals a conceit which will be an ineradicable impediment to even the reading of good literature, far less the writing of it.

JOHN GOLDIE.

70 Wellington Street, Glasgow, C.2.

Andrew Stewart replies:—

Mr. Goldie is as much entitled to his opinion of *Privileged Spectator* as I am to mine. However, I must confess my personal preference for "eloquent pleas for pacifism" that are divorced from the trivialia of the kind that obscured for me what riches this work might contain. [This correspondence is now closed.—Ed.]

JOHN BARCLAY writes from Room 13:

"I REMEMBER, I REMEMBER..."

WHAT is the use of experience? Do we ever really remember or does some "kink" form in our minds which prevents us from seeing clearly with our imagination the certain results of repeating previous folly?

It is my belief that we see it all right, but are frightened to let others know in case we should be thought impractical.

The Group Secretary Weekly Notes

Quite simply my experience tells me that if we will go on standing firm and denounce war in season and out of season—calling on others to do the same—we shall find ourselves in quite a short time at the back of the crowd that has left us standing—so quickly does public opinion change when once the stand has been made.

The mad idealists of 1936 will be the out-of-date "Georgians" of 1966. It is hard to believe this when it is happening. But listen—can you hear the jeers and the cat-calls of 1922?

I remember how the tomatoes came flying at me in those days for saying that war was incompatible with the socialist philosophy. I was a rebel in the ILP, but last Sunday a speaker at the conference of the No Conscription League was almost howled down because he didn't say it!

I remember Mrs. Pankhurst being sent to prison for demanding votes for women in 1910—but now her monument stands within a stone's throw of the Houses of Parliament—unveiled by a Conservative Prime Minister, who gave it his blessing.

I remember that there was a time when it was thought right and proper to encourage bullying and fagging in schools—and now we read that Eton College has set up a memorial to Shelley (an old Etonian), who denounced bullying and the fagging system in its hey-day.

I remember—yes, but I also know that I have to make my stand now against war and conscription, so that my boys will be able to say "I remember"—in 1966—and scarcely be believed.

The PPU members and groups have re-

sponded magnificently during the last few weeks, and the tremendous distribution that has been made of the *Peace Service Handbook* and the 93,000 copies of the *Think again* leaflet has nearly exhausted the capabilities of our packing department.

COMING EVENTS.—National Council for Civil Liberties are holding a Garden Meeting on Thursday, June 15, from 6.30 to 11 p.m., at Hampden School Gardens (14, Holland Park, W.11). Cedric Belfrage (author of *Away from it all* and *Promised Land*, recently returned from Hollywood), will speak on "The fight for Democracy here and in USA." Refreshments and dancing. Members of NCCL free, Non-members 1s.

Tickets from: Council Civil Liberties (Non-members 1s.), 320, Regent Street, W.1.

PPU Summer Conference, Harrogate.—There are still plenty of beds at Pannal Ash, July 29 to August 8. Don't postpone your booking any longer, but send in your name or write for an application form.

NEWS OF THE NEW ZEALAND P.P.U.

ARCHIBALD BAXTER, author of *We Will Not Cease* (his experiences as a war-time objector), was in Wellington, New Zealand, recently, and met members of the New Zealand Peace Pledge Union.

He hopes to form a branch of the New Zealand PPU in Dunedin, his home town.

Another PPU branch is being started in Masterton, where the secretary of the New Zealand PPU recently addressed a public meeting.

International Youth Camp in France

This summer the Ligue Scolaire Internationale pour la Paix (Students' International League for Peace) is once again arranging an international camp in France. Already visitors from Britain, Belgium, France, Holland, Scandinavia, and Switzerland are expected.

The camp will be from July 29 to August 6 at Villeneuve-la-Dondagre, about 75 miles from Paris.

The cost of the camp will be 225 francs (approximately £1 6s.) to cover everything—lodging, food, excursions, &c. A forty percent reduction will be granted by French railways on production of a "congress ticket."

The secretary of the LSIP is Louis Bonfanti, 91 rue de Londres, Le Touquet-Paris-Plage (P.-de-C.) France.

Under the Oak Tree

BACK IN BILBAO

By Theo Wills

"MY father is kissing me all day long and laughs when this makes me shy."

This is one of the first items of news from the repatriated children. Our fears have been much allayed by their letters which have begun to arrive.

From them we gather that they had a good journey, a calm crossing of the Channel, that no-one was sea or travel sick, and that they arrived in Bilbao shortly after 2 a.m. on Tuesday, May 23, where their families came for them at 6 a.m. But note that they also address the remnant at Basque House as "Dear Family!"

One of the smallest, Merche Lopez, was the first to write. She it is who is so kissed by her father.

Her letter is an inconsequent but charming torrent of childish prattle from which we glean that her home is happy, that her sister is bigger and pretty and very absorbed with the toys Merche brought for her, that there are repatriated children playing in the street, that she is to go to school the following day, that they had bread and chocolate for "tea," and that her father, who was in gaol, is now free and has a good job.

The tone of the other letters is on the whole cheerful. Brothers and sisters have grown, and the home-comers are found to present the same phenomenon. A grandmother, supposed dead, is alive.

Our repatriates find their homes uncannily quiet after Basque House. They are visiting each other and the homes of relatives of the children and staff still here, delivering presents and other commissions, and sending us news.

The sad notes are in the main no worse than expected. One child is sad because her father and brother did not come to meet her, but it was known before she went that they were in gaol.

Only one or two new items emerge. In disguised language we learn that another relative has been imprisoned and that so and so should not return to Spain.

For the information of those who know them we have heard reassuring news from or of: Merche and Maria Luisa Lopez; Rosita Laño; Maria Angeles and Celia Olozaga; Vicente Rodriguez; Angel and Francisco Diez; Maria Jesus Escartin; Manuel and Asun Leceta.

This series, "Under the Oak Tree," is a weekly reminder of the Basque Children who are our proteges at Basque House, Langham, Colchester, Essex. All gifts in kind should be sent there.

Donations, in cash or by cheque, should be sent to the Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. They will be most gratefully acknowledged.

What the Groups are Doing

THE East Ham Central Hall group was able to distribute a large number of pamphlets in East Ham during a special week arranged in connexion with National Service.

A National Service Exhibition was held each night in the Town Hall, and on each occasion the exhibition was opened by a small army of boys about ten years of age and upward who played the band and displayed their drilling abilities.

Members of the East Ham group managed to give literature to most of the people who attended the exhibition.

Dorking and the Handbook

THE Dorking group has sent a copy of the *Peace Service Handbook* to the Common Rooms of each of the hundred Youth Hostels in the Lakeland, Manchester, Merseyside, and London Regional Areas, the total cost being 12s.

It is suggested that there is a wide field for similar activity by other groups in the rest of the Youth Hostels, YMCAs, hostels and boarding houses, boarding school libraries, the Common Rooms of university colleges, technical institutes and professional student societies, public reading rooms, village institutes and other places frequented by numbers of young people in the mood for reading.

An important detail is a small adhesive label on each book "For the Common Room"; this imposes an obligation on whoever opens the envelope to put it there.

"The Warning" in Porthmadog

PORTHMADOG, in Wales, is one of the growing number of places where the PPU leaflet, *The Warning*, has been distributed outside a cinema showing the film of the same name.

It is hoped to see three new branches established in the locality before long.

THE third annual garden party organized by the Wandsworth group will be held at the Friends' Meeting House, 59 High Street, Wandsworth, on Saturday, June 17, commencing at 4 p.m.

All will be welcome and the inclusive charge will be 9d. per person.

Leeds Discusses Conscription

A DISCUSSION on the Conscription Act and the best means of assisting those affected by it was the main business of the monthly meeting of the Leeds groups last Friday.

The President of the group, Rev. "Don" Robins, outlined a plan which would include all societies in the district opposed to war and conscription, and would provide assistance for all applicants.

Nottingham's Dick Sheppard Centre

THE Dick Sheppard Centre in Nottingham has proved invaluable. Through it local members are constantly in contact with earnest inquirers, and new members are obtained daily.

All visitors to Nottingham are invited to call at the Centre, which is situated at the corner of Bridlesmith Gate and Low Pavement. It is open daily (except Sundays) between 12 noon and 3 p.m. and 5 to 7 p.m.

Publicity Van in Abingdon

THE Publicity Van was with the Abingdon Group on Saturday, visiting the villages of Milton and Sutton Courtenay in the afternoon, and a meeting in Abingdon Market Place in the evening.

The speaker with the van was Mr. Owen Page, and from the local group, Mr. J. N. Baldry, J. Cole, T. B. Wright, F. Hawtin and E. A. Garrett, also spoke.

BLACKPOOL members are still engaged on a house to house literature campaign.

At a recent "extraordinary" meeting of active members of the group, held in the garden of a member, it was decided to sell the *Peace Service Handbook* from door to door in Poulton-le-Fylde, an outlying neighbourhood, town hitherto neglected. It was also decided to hold an open-air meeting in the square of Great Eccleston on June 26.

Plans were made regarding the organization of dances, socials, and whist drives for the coming winter, but, in the meantime, members are to approach certain munificent residents with a view to holding garden parties on their private lawns.

The Notice Board

Items must be received by MONDAY.

Meetings

Westminster.—Thursday open-air meetings at Horseferry Road will be discontinued until September. Open-air meetings every Friday at 7.45 p.m. at the corner of Wilton Road and Longmore Street.

Blackheath.—Open-air meetings every Sunday, 7 p.m., at Whitfield's Mount (near Cricket Pitch).

Liverpool.—Waterloo and Crosby group of Christian Pacifists hold open-air meetings on shore—bottom of South Road—every Wednesday evening at 8 p.m.

Poster Parades

Woodford Green.—Parade from Derby Road at 3 and 6 p.m. tomorrow (Saturday). Volunteers wanted.

Dorking.—Cooperative Hall at 3.30 p.m. Reigate Friends' Meeting House at 5.30 p.m.

Liverpool.—Anti-conscription procession with posters on Saturday, June 10. Start at 3 p.m. from Islington Square.

Parades from Dick Sheppard House on Saturday evenings discontinued until further notice.

"Peace News" Sellers Wanted

Birmingham.—Further volunteers wanted for street selling every Friday between 4.30 and 7.30 p.m. Write Wilfred S. Burt, 22 Hemyock Road, Selly Oak, Birmingham 29.

Glasgow.—Mass selling of *Peace News* and *Peace Service Handbook* on Saturday, June 17. PPU Office, 534 Sauchiehall Street, at 8 p.m.

Gravesend.—Meet at Clock Tower at 6 p.m. for mass selling. 7.30 p.m. open-air meeting at bottom of Parrock Street.

Fridays and Saturdays; also assist on Market "Peace Stall" support No Conscription League's meetings on sands, 8 p.m., Sundays.—*Peace News* information from A. G. Sparkes, 9 Malvern Terrace, Brynmill, Swansea.

Sellers wanted every Sunday in connexion with Hyde Park stand. Full particulars from D. Hill, 127 Uxbridge Road, London W.12.

Sparkhill and Sparkbrook.—Members here wish to maintain six selling posts every Friday (5.30 to 8 p.m.). Write Ronald A. King, 59 Bushmore Road, Hall Green, Birmingham, 28.

Miscellaneous

Will anyone able to read Bulgarian, and who has a little time to spare to look through Bulgarian newspapers, kindly communicate with the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex?

Chorley Wood.—Will any members in this district please write to S. W. Randolph, 56 The Main Way, Chorley Wood, as a group is being formed here?

Will anyone able to offer even temporary hospitality for children who are already in this country communicate with the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex? There is no question of a guarantee being given.

Aberdare.—Will any members in the Aberdare district please write to Miss Edith Cullingworth, "Fairfield" Educational Settlement, Aberdare. It is hoped to form groups in surrounding villages.

Will all youths in Devon in addition to those whose names have already been received as opposing Military Service please get into touch with E. C. Maddax, Dick Sheppard Centre, 47 East Street, Newton Abbot, immediately.

Sheffield.—The *Peace News* Regional Conference, fixed for June 10, will be held in the "Dick Sheppard" Centre, 23 Change Alley, at 3 pm.

MEAT EATING INVOLVES CRUELTY!

Why not try The Vegetarian Way?

Free literature, including Recipes, from

THE VEGETARIAN SOCIETY,

57, Princess Street, Manchester, 2

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**SOCIALIST CASE
AGAINST WAR in**

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Every Friday 2d.

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Send postcard for sample copy to:

26, Civic Street, Glasgow, C.4.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

"Things We Want You to Know"

JUNE 9th, 1939

The
Conscription
of Youth

by
Wilfred Wellock
One Penny
Post free 1½d.

An Open
Letter to Men
of
Conscription
Age and their
Parents

6d. per 100, postage 3d.
4/- per 1000, postage 9d.

Can we make
Peace
with the
Dictators?

by
Sidney Spencer
One Penny
Post free 1½d.

Forthcoming Events

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Today (Friday)

WESTMINSTER: 5.15 p.m. Caxton Hall; meeting to welcome Agatha Harrison back from India; chairman, Viscount Sankey; Liaison Group of British Women's Societies co-operating with the All India Women's Conference; applications for reserved seats (1s.) to Mrs. Lankester, 62 Plough Lane, Purley.
SUNDERLAND: 7.30 p.m. Elim Church, Bedford Street; Rev. C. E. Goshawk on "War and the Christian Ethic"; PPU.
BRADFORD: 7.30 p.m. The Mechanics Institute; Naomi Jacob on "The Way to Peace"; PPU.
ILKLEY: 7.45 p.m. The Lecture Hall, Riddings Rd.; Naomi Jacob on "The Way to Peace"; PPU.
WAREHAM: 8 p.m. Town Hall; Councillor C. H. Whitlow, J.P., of Glastonbury; PPU.
LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Maud Rowntree on "The Pacifism of a CO's Wife"; PPU.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

WOODFORD GREEN: 7 p.m. open-air meeting (near Men's Club); W. G. Millman and S. J. Hart; PPU. (See Notice Board.)
CROYDON: 7.30 p.m. Katherine Street; open-air meeting; speaker, Frank Regan; PPU.

Sunday, June 11

HYDE PARK: open-air meeting; John Barclay and David Spreckley; PPU. Details from D. Hill, 127 Uxbridge Road, London, W.12.
CLEVELAND: 3 p.m. Savoy Cinema, Victoria Road; Wilfred Wellock, Canon Stuart Morris and J. Moores (chairman); PPU.
CHESTERFIELD: 7 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 55 Saltergate; "Friends and Conscription"; Society of Friends.
FLEETWOOD: 8.15 p.m. Mount Road Methodist Church; Wilfred Wellock, Canon Stuart Morris and A. C. Frith (chairman); PPU.
MANCHESTER: 8.15 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street; Miss Naomi Jacob and Andrew Stewart; PPU.

Monday, June 12

BRISTOL: Central Hall; Stuart Morris and others; Pacifist Co-ordinating Committee and No Conscription League.
LIVERPOOL: 7.45 p.m. Bluecoat Chambers, School Lane; Naomi Jacob and Andrew Stewart at public meeting (chairman, Canon Davey); PPU. (Tickets for reserved seats, 1s. from Mr. Lowry, Westminster Bank, Simms Cross, Widnes; other seats free.)
BAYSWATER: 8.15 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; Leonard Rule on "Palestine Community Experiences"; PPU.

Tuesday, June 13

LONDON, E.C.4: 12.10-1 p.m. City Peace Book Centre, 13 Paternoster Row; Dorothy Hogg on "The North-West Frontier"; City PPU Group.
TOWER HILL: 12.30 p.m. open-air meeting; W. G. Millman and Stuart D. Morris; City PPU Group.
LONDON, W.C.2: 7.15 p.m. Kingsway Hall; inaugural meeting of National Association Against Unemployment; speakers include: Dr. Donald Soper, George Lansbury, Rev. Reginald Sorensen, Howard Marshall, C. E. M. Joad, Rev. Alex. Miller, Father St. John B. Grosier, Rev. William Dick, Rev. Leslie Artingstall, Miss Mary Hughes, Rev. Malcolm Spencer.
Wednesday, June 14

LONDON, W.C.2: 7.30 p.m. Kingsway Hall; "The Church of England and the Conscientious Objector"; speakers: Miss Mary Gamble, George Lansbury, Rev. Stuart D. Morris, Rev. P. D. Robins; 10-minute speeches by Revs. K. G. Budd, C. G. Holland, B. C. Hopson, K. Rawlings; chairman: Marquis of Tavistock; Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. (Admission free; reserved seats, 1s., from Organizing Hon. Sec., Holy Cross Vicarage, 17 Argyle Square, W.C.1.)
BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m. Harrowdene Road Methodist Church Schoolroom; Miss E. O. Comber on "A Time of Opportunity"; chairman, Rev. F. H. Cooper; Bristol Council of Christian Pacifist Groups (in co-operation with PPU).
FERNDOWN: 8 p.m. Church Hall; T. Rendall Davies and Rev. H. Fielder; PPU.
BAYSWATER: 8.15 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; Li Nei-Chong (Chinese journalist) on "My Philosophy"; PPU.

Thursday, June 15

LONDON, E.C.4: 1.10-2 p.m. City Peace Book Centre, 13 Paternoster Row; Professor H. B. Fenn on "Do We Want Peace?"; City PPU Group.
LONDON, E.C.4: 6-8 p.m. City Peace Book Centre, 13 Paternoster Row; Felix Tomlin on "The Science of Unity"; City PPU Group.
LEICESTER: 7.30 p.m. Publicity Van in Market Place; PPU.

Sunday, June 18

EDALE: 6.30 p.m. outside Church Hotel (if wet, in garage of Church Hotel); open-air meeting; A. Joe Brayshaw, Ben Smith, Alfred Youngs; chairman, Lawrence Fitton (to be preceded by Randle from outside Church Hotel, 3 p.m.; tea at Church Hotel, 5.30 p.m.); Society of Friends, Cheshire Monthly Meeting Peace Committee.

Fri. to Sun., July 7 to 9

LONDON, N.W.1: Friends House, Euston Road; 29th National Peace Congress; particulars from National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, S.W.1.

Sat., July 29, to Tues., Aug. 8

HARROGATE: Pannal Ash College; PPU Summer Conference; particulars from John Barclay, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

CUT THIS OUT FOR REFERENCE

To Aid Objectors : FULL LIST OF ADVISORY BUREAUX NOW OPEN

WITH the introduction of conscription advisory bureaux for conscientious objectors are now springing up all over the country. Following is a list of secretaries of bureaux already known to the National Joint Advisory Bureau at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. Alterations and additions to this list will appear in later issues of *Peace News*.

London

BERMONDSEY. Mr. J. Douglas, 606, Fort Road, S.E.1.
ELTHAM and SIDCUP. Mrs. V. Lawrence, 69, Southern Crescent, S.E.9.
GOLDERS GREEN. Eustace Gillett, 5, Milton Close, N.2.
HAMPSTEAD. Mrs. G. Anderson, 15, Crossfield Road, N.W.3.
HAMPSTEAD. Miss D. Ward, 3, Warwick Mansions, N.W.3.
HOUNSLOW. Mr. J. W. Alexander, 13, Lampston Avenue, Hounslow.
LEWISHAM. Mr. P. H. Couldry, 82, Cotton Hill, Bromley, Kent.
PLAISTOW. Mr. A. W. Woodcock, 64, Cumberland Road, E.13.
POPLAR. Mr. Gilbert Shaw, The Sydney, 6, Woolmoor Street, E.14.
SHADWELL. Mr. T. E. Hoare, 293, The Highway, Shadwell, E.1.
WANSTEAD. Mr. A. G. Soar, 43, Keswick Gardens, Ilford.
WILLESDEN. Mr. L. Behenna, 88, Kempe Road, N.W.6.
WOOLWICH. Mr. R. J. Dunn, 59, Liffler Road, S.E.18.
WANDSWORTH. Eric Tucker, 30, Alfriston Road, S.W.11.

Provinces

ABERDEEN. Mr. A. Gray, 2, Maberley Street, Aberdeen.
AMERSHAM. John Bunney, Marston Croft, Mitchells Walk, Amersham.
ASHFORD (Kent). PPU.
BEXHILL. Mrs. W. Rawlins, 2, Rotherfield Avenue, Bexhill.
BLACKPOOL. Mr. R. S. Baxter, 411, Waterloo Road, Blackpool.
BIRKENHEAD. Mr. A. H. Boyes, 28, Bebington Road, Bebington, Birkenhead.
BAKEWELL and MATLOCK. Society of Friends.
BOLTON. Latman Boardman, Friends' Meeting House, Tripping Street, Bolton.
BANBURY. S. Mabel Warner, 72, Bath Road, Banbury.
BRISTOL. Mr. W. H. C. Leins, 37, Chandos Road, Redland, Bristol, 6.
BRIGHOUSE. Willie Agar, Society of Friends.
BOURNVILLE. Mr. J. D. Maynard, 10, Wedley Hill, Selly Oak, Birmingham, 29.
BRADFORD. John Pawson, 4, Starkie Street, Keighley.
BLACKBURN. A. J. Leather, Friends' Meeting House, Paradise Terrace, King Street, Blackburn.
COLEFORD (Glos.). Mr. E. W. Morgan, 16, Bonbush Road, Coleford, Glos.
COVENTRY. Mrs. Kirk, 161, Abbey Road, Whitely, Coventry.
CARDIFF. Mr. F. Beard, 8, Wilton Place, Ely, Cardiff.
CROYDON. Mrs. Grindley, 6, Cedars Road, Beddington, Croydon.
CARLISLE. Mr. H. Ritson, Friends' Meeting House, Fisher Street, Carlisle.
COALVILLE. Mr. G. C. White, Sunnydale, Broom Leys, Avenue, Coalville.
CAMBRIDGE. Alex. Wood, Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
CHELTENHAM. Mrs. Couzens, 28, Landsdowne Crescent, Cheltenham.
CHESTER. Mr. K. B. Brookes, 5, Cable Row, Saltney, Chester.
DUNDEE. Miss Toole, 16, Flight Lane, Lochee, Dundee.
DONCASTER. Society of Friends.
EDINBURGH. Mr. J. Gibson, 5, Edina Street, Edinburgh.
EASTBOURNE. John Brewer, Wood Rising, Wish Hill, Wikingoom, Sussex.
EVESHAM. Mr. J. Bubb, South Littleton, Evesham.
EXMOUTH. Society of Friends.
GUILDFORD. Carl Heaton, Whitewings, Manor Way, Guildford.
GLASGOW. Mr. R. Vallance, c/o Bell, 33, Gardner Street, Glasgow, W.1.
HULL. Society of Friends.
HARROGATE. Society of Friends.
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MANCHESTER. William Needham, 11 Windsor Avenue, Flixton, Manchester.
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YORK. G. William Johnson, Society of Friends.

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UPRIGHT PIANO, iron frame, good condition, recently overhauled. £7 or offer.—Write Moss, 3, Woodberry Avenue, North Harrow.

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MISS J. D. WALLINGTON (and Mrs. Helen Whitticom), health practitioner, osteopath, bone-setter, treats all conditions of ill-health by natural methods. Consultations by appointment. 1, Ashley Place, S.W.1 (Victoria 0131), and 2 Norton Way North, Letchworth (Letchworth 885).

LITERATURE

WAR'S STARK REALITY! Nie Wieder Krieg! the book of untouched rare German War Photographs showing "Man's Inhumanity to Man." (With English translation). 1s., plus 1d. postage from Kay's Bookshop, Bramley, near Guildford, Surrey.

PERSONAL

COULD ANYONE GIVE SCHOOLING and home to a 15 year old daughter of a German Jewish professor?—Apply David Spreckley, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

FRENCH PACIFIST (17), wishes exchange holidays with English boy or girl during summer vacation. Details from Arnold Daniels, 35 London Road, Sevenoaks, Kent.

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SITUATIONS

Vacant

EDUCATED MOTHER'S HELP, 23-25. Girl 5 years. Daily maid kept. Cheshire. Small modern house.—Box 175, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

Wanted

PHARMACEUTICAL CHEMIST, 25. Christian pacifist, seeks post where knowledge useful.—Stevens, Devon House, South Road, S.E.23.

WHERE TO STAY

ARE YOU PLANNING your holidays, or conference? Send for brochure. Adult School Guest House, Manor House, Bewdley, Worcs. Phone 101. Free garage.

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KINGSTON, EDINBURGH. The Fountainhead of Modern Nature Cure (Health Home and Training Centre). Under the personal supervision of James C. Thomson. Particulars from the Secretary, Kingston, Edinburgh, 9.

60,000 Catholics at Australian Peace Rally

FERVENT applause from a gathering of 60,000 Catholics in Melbourne, Australia, greeted speakers who declared that war could be avoided by the will of the peace-loving masses of the world. The rally was a climax to the Pope's month of prayer for peace.

G.L. Recalls What Lord Baldwin Once Said

IN the House of Commons on April 27 Mr. George Lansbury said:

"Lord Baldwin... told us of the horrors of aerial warfare and called upon the young men in this House and outside not to allow it to take place."

"He told us that if we would win the war we must kill more babies and women and kill them more quickly than the enemy could kill ours, and I think all who heard him will agree that that speech stunned us. I happened to go out of the House at the same time as he did, and he said to me, 'Lansbury, I have been wanting to get that speech off for a long time. I am glad I have been able to do it at last.' Why did he do it? I could not say anything stronger for pacifism than Lord Baldwin said."

"Well, nothing has changed. What he said then is true today, and it will be true tomorrow."

* Lord Baldwin said on November 11, 1932:

"I think it is well for the man in the street to realize that there is no power on earth that can prevent him from being bombed. Whatever people may tell him, the bomber will always get through. . . . The only defence is in offence, which means that you have to kill women and children more quickly than the enemy if you want to save yourselves."

CONSCRIPTION IN A NUTSHELL

(Continued from page 1)

I cannot understand it, however, as we have been allowed to sell the newspaper anywhere and at any time in Nottingham before."

At Sheffield the Rev. Thomas Pickering was charged with obstructing the footpath during the registration. The charge was dismissed.

Mr. Pickering had conducted several meetings in the immediate neighbourhood of the exchange.

Work of the Joint Advisory Bureau

WITH registration practically over, the opposition to conscription focuses now on the forthcoming tribunals.

The Joint Advisory Bureau has already established over 120 local bureaux where objectors may obtain advice. A full list of these local bureaux appears on page 11.

The Bureau has issued a penny leaflet entitled *A Description of the Military Training Act*, which gives a digest of the main clauses of the measure.

A memorandum on the Regulations and advice in regard to Tribunals is being prepared for publication soon.

A mass meeting will take place in the Central Hall on June 28. Among the speakers will be George Lansbury, President of the Peace Pledge Union, Dr. C. E. M. Joad and Dr. Maude Royden.

The Bureau is to seek an interview with the Minister of Labour to put before him certain anomalies in connexion with postponement of training.

They are to ask the Minister whether he will by regulation or de-artmental order direct that men who were given exemption conditional on their undertaking training under the civil authority could be allowed to postpone such training under the same terms as those on the military register.

Association Against Unemployment Inaugural Meeting

Further Sponsors of the National Association against Unemployment who will be present at its inaugural meeting at the Kingsway Hall, London, on Tuesday evening, are now known.

They are: the Bishop of Stepney, Mr. F. Le Gros Clark, Mr. Preston Benson, Mr. Stefan Lorant and Mr. J. Middleton Murry.

All who are interested and would like further information, whether they can attend the meeting or not, should write to the secretary, National Association Against Unemployment, Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, W.C.2.

CUT THIS OUT FOR RETURNS

9th June, 1939

A Pacifist Commentary

A Labour Lead Soon? :: After the Arms Boom :: Lesson of "Thetis" Tragedy

WE understand that Mr. Ernest Bevin's speech at the Labour Party's annual conference, to which we gave prominence in this Commentary last week, is to be published by the party in pamphlet form.

Taken in conjunction with Mr. Noel Baker's statement at the conference that the Executive is 100 percent with Mr. Bevin, this gives further strength to the hope that Labour may be about to give a really constructive lead to a world sorely in need of it.

The recent "lull" in international affairs does not mean that the deep-rooted causes of tension have disappeared. They are still there, and just such an initiative by Britain as Mr. Bevin suggested is the prime need today.

The Labour Party will deserve the thanks of millions who crave peace if it will throw its weight behind the demand for such an initiative.

Window-Dressing

HAVING commended this aspect of Labour's policy, however, we must also record that the conference showed that, while there is hope, there is also danger that it may be vitiated by a wrong attitude on the "defence issue."

On the whole the conference seemed more concerned with "window dressing" and appearing respectable, in anticipation of an early general election, than it was in facing up to fundamental principles of socialist policy. With the exception of Mr. Bevin's speech there were very few signs that delegates had gained much from the experiences of the last ten years.

The conference was against conscription one day, and then whittled its opposition down another because it became involved with the National Service issue, and it was difficult, on the grounds of consistency, to divorce one from the other.

It was the natural corollary of supporting collective security. Now the Labour Party, according to the leading article in the *Daily Herald* (5/6/39) summing up the conference, must "plan for building a democratic citizen army."

All forms of State compulsion which have been enforced without previously consulting the country must logically be anti-social, and how the Labour Party can acquiesce on a measure like the Military Training Act in this way is not easy to follow. How can an army be democratic under conscription?

The conference would have been far wiser to have given fuller consideration to Mr. Bevin's proposals. Only through attempting the solution of the world problems through international agreement are we ever likely to have anything like real "national security" at home.

After the Boom

THE new Director (Mr. J. G. Winant) of the International Labour Office in his first annual report, recently published, deals with the problems involved when the time comes for reducing armaments in Europe.

He rightly points out how the manufacture of munitions, &c., makes inroads into the supply of capital and labour which is required for more normal production. I.L.O. Winant suggests that the I.L.O. staff should immediately be charged with the duty of surveying the economic conditions of the world and of drafting proposals suitable for meeting the time when the slackening off in armaments is imminent: thus anticipating the depression which is inevitable.

All of which is very sound common sense, but unless the various governments of the world can be persuaded to pool their resources, raw materials, redistribution of markets, &c. (including the raising of the standard of living and the shortening of hours), for which the present armaments race is not a good augury, there is little chance of averting a natural reaction which may bring more distress than open conflict itself.

Impartial social observers returning from Germany and Italy are already reporting the noticeable effect "synthetic and rationed" food is having on the health of the countries. In fact, it is reliably estimated that during the intensive work by the German Labour Corps on the Siegfried Line during the autumn and winter months

there was an average sick list of twenty percent—a very high percentage.

Unemployment

THE unemployment total for the last count (middle May) shows a fall of 152,112 as compared with the previous month.

There are still 1,492,282 registered unemployed (not including, of course, those transferred to PAC) in what the "financial press" describes as a "boom period." Experts reckon that within the next twelve months, when the full extent of the armaments programme is felt, and with the Military Training Act operating, the unemployment figure will be reduced to approximately half of what it is today.

The raising of the school-leaving age to fifteen will, too, make some difference, although not to the same extent as those factors first cited.

Surely the capacity of society is not so limited? It can (and does) organize with considerable alacrity and enthusiasm all its resources, both human and material, for the purpose of destruction, yet how inactive and unresponsive it is when faced with serious industrial depression.

Italy and Suez

THE Marquis de Vogüe, chairman of the Board of Directors, at the annual meeting of the Canal Company in Paris on Monday, made a speech which lacked the caution and foresight one expects from a person occupying so distinguished and responsible an office.

He attacked Italy although he did imply that if she would abandon her present threatening attitude and adopted a more reasonable one, eventually the Company may be gracious enough to invite her to participate in the administration of the Canal. The Marquis said: "But the company is the only judge of the timeliness of its decisions."

It is like one small boy saying to another "if you stop calling me names I'll let you play in my back garden." To buy a country off by what almost amounts to bribery does not remove the injustice, and if one country can secure what it wants by bluff then there are half a dozen more ready to take the place of the first when it is satisfied.

The Suez Canal is open to all the shipping of the world, if the burthen of the vessel will allow passage, and therefore it should be under international management and no single country (or a combination of Powers) should have a more decisive voice in the management than another. Through methods of this nature the excuse for friction is removed.

Pope's Peace Moves

POPE PIUS XII told the College of Cardinals last week "that his approaches had met with assurances of good will and a resolve to maintain peace from the various Governments he had approached."

At the beginning of last month, he went on, he thought it was timely to make known to some of the leading statesmen of the Great European nations the anxiety which

the situation was causing him. The Pope concluded: "This step met with general sympathy and other information received about the intentions of influential statesmen has left open to us the way for further manifestations of our earnest solicitude."

We hope His Holiness will show greater impartiality than he did over the Spanish conflict in these negotiations, and that a true spiritual motive prompts his present intervention and not the fear of any of the silly fabrications about Bolshevism dominating Europe consequent on any general pact in which Russia is one of the chief signatories.

"Thetis" Disaster

WE are sure all readers of *Peace News* join with us in tendering to those bereaved in the "Thetis" tragedy the deepest sympathy in their tragic loss.

The accident has led to a demand for scrapping the submarine as an instrument of war. This insistence is made by many daily papers which are usually given over to more bellicose utterances. When will they realize that all methods of modern warfare are diabolical?

Similar efforts in the past have been made to abolish aerial bombardment and poison gas. But one may just as well deprecate the introduction of the modern Bren Gun because it does not give the infantryman with the ordinary rifle a fair chance.

War cannot be fought according to a form of "Lonsdale Rules." There is only one certain way of stopping another catastrophe like the "Thetis." That is by total disarmament. This can only come when mankind recognizes the futility of war as a means of settling international grievances.

Soviet Pact

IT is quite possible before these notes are read, final agreement as between Russia and this country will have been reached. But as far as it can be judged at the moment from the scanty information available, M. Molotov is attempting to drive Mr. Chamberlain into a harder bargain than the Prime Minister wants. There is a very natural distrust in the Union that unless the safeguards are most carefully defined it may be lead into a class war, and from the Russian angle, to fight a capitalist war is the last thing wanted. All wars are class wars—the working classes are always the most badly hit in the long run.

Tailpiece

A DEAR old lady had been suffering for a long time with sugar diabetes when a friend called to make the usual inquiries as to her health, and she replied, very cheerfully, "I am glad to say the doctor has left off calling, and I have only now to keep on with my insolence, and in time I shall be even able to give that up. Aren't I getting better?"

Perhaps the world's troubles, after all, may be quite as simple as that!

This commentary, in common with other contributions appearing in "Peace News," must not be assumed necessarily to represent the views of the Peace Pledge Union.

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